UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/25694
29 April 1993

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

Draft resolution

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolutions 696 (1991) of 30 May 1991, 747 (1992) of 24 March 1992, 785 (1992) of 30 October 1992, 793 (1992) of 30 November 1992, 804 (1993) of 29 January 1993 and 811 (1993) of 12 March 1993,

Recalling its resolution 804 (1993), in particular its paragraph 15, by which it decided to extend the mandate of UNAVEM II for a period of three months until 30 April 1993,

Extending its support to the current and ongoing peace talks in Abidjan between the Government of Angola and UNITA under United Nations auspices and chairmanship and expressing the hope that those talks will result in an immediate cease-fire and in the full implementation of the "Acordos de Paz",

Gravely concerned at the continuing attacks against international humanitarian flights operating in Angola, in particular the recent shooting down of a World Food Programme airplane,

Taking into account the letter dated 29 April 1993 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council,

1. Decides to extend the existing mandate of UNAVEM II until 31 May 1993;

2. Requests the Secretary-General to submit to it as soon as the situation warrants, and in any case before 31 May 1993, a report on the situation in Angola with his recommendations for the further role of the United Nations in the peace process and in the meantime to keep the Council regularly informed;

3. Stresses its readiness to take action promptly, at any time within the period of the mandate authorized by this resolution, on the recommendation of the Secretary-General, to expand substantially the United Nations presence in Angola in the event of significant progress in the peace process;

4. Condemns the attacks against international humanitarian flights operating in Angola and demands that these attacks cease forthwith and that both parties, in particular UNITA, take all necessary measures to ensure the safety of these flights as well as the security of UNAVEM II personnel;

5. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/25695
29 April 1993

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

Draft resolution

The Security Council,

Recalling the statements of the President of the Security Council of 29 January 1993 (S/25199) and of 6 April 1993 (S/25539) concerning the Nagorny-Karabakh conflict,

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General dated 14 April 1993 (S/25600),

Expressing its serious concern at the deterioration of the relations between the Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Azerbaijan,

Noting with alarm the escalation in armed hostilities and, in particular, the latest invasion of the Kelbadjar district of the Republic of Azerbaijan by local Armenian forces,

Concerned that this situation endangers peace and security in the region,

Expressing grave concern at the displacement of a large number of civilians and the humanitarian emergency in the region, in particular in the Kelbadjar district,

Reaffirming the respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States in the region,

Reaffirming also the inviolability of international borders and the inadmissibility of the use of force for the acquisition of territory,

Expressing its support for the peace process being pursued within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and deeply concerned at the disruptive effect that the escalation in armed hostilities can have on that process,

1. Demands the immediate cessation of all hostilities and hostile acts with a view to establishing a durable cease-fire, as well as immediate withdrawal of all occupying forces from the Kelbadjar district and other recently occupied areas of Azerbaijan;

2. Urges the parties concerned immediately to resume negotiations for the resolution of the conflict within the framework of the peace process of the Minsk Group of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and refrain from any action that will obstruct a peaceful solution of the problem;

3. Calls for unimpeded access for international humanitarian relief efforts in the region, in particular in all areas affected by the conflict in order to alleviate the suffering of the civilian population and reaffirms that all parties are bound to comply with the principles and rules of international humanitarian law;

4. Requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Chairman-in-Office of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe as well as the Chairman of the Minsk Group of the Conference to assess the situation in the region, in particular in the Kelbadjar district of Azerbaijan, and to submit a further report to the Council;

5. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

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GENERAL

S/25696
30 April 1993

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

NOTE BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Following consultations with the members of the Security Council, the President of the Council made the following statement, on behalf of the Council, at its 3207th meeting, on 30 April 1993, in connection with the Council's consideration of the item entitled "An Agenda for Peace: preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping":

"Continuing its examination of the Secretary-General's report entitled 'An Agenda for Peace' (S/24111), the Security Council during the month of April 1993, emphasizing the importance of building strong foundations for peace in all countries and regions of the world, considered the subject of post-conflict peace-building.

"The Security Council supports the view that the United Nations, in order to meet its responsibilities in the context of international peace and security, should view its objectives in respect of economic and social cooperation and development with the same sense of responsibility and urgency as its commitments in the political and security areas.

"The Security Council stresses that, in examining the question of post-conflict peace-building, it wishes to highlight the importance and the urgency of the work of the United Nations in the field of development cooperation, without prejudice to the recognized priorities for the activities of the United Nations in that field as defined by the competent bodies.

"The Security Council took note of the Secretary-General's observation that, to be truly successful, peacemaking and peace-keeping operations 'must come to include comprehensive efforts to identify and support structures which will tend to consolidate peace and advance a sense of confidence and well-being among people'. It agreed that in addition to the specific measures mentioned by the Secretary-General in paragraph 55 of his report, 'An Agenda for Peace', activities such as disarming and demobilization of belligerent forces and their reintegration into society, electoral assistance, the restoration of national security through formation of national defence and police forces and mine-clearing, where appropriate and within the framework of comprehensive settlements of conflict situations, strengthen national political structures and enhance institutional and administrative capabilities and are important in restoring a sound basis for sustainable peace.

"The Security Council further agrees that in the aftermath of an international conflict, peace-building may, inter alia, include measures and cooperative projects linking two or more countries in mutually beneficial undertakings which contribute not only to economic, social and cultural development but also enhance mutual understanding and confidence that are so fundamental to peace.

"In discharging its responsibilities in the prevention of breaches of peace and in the resolution of conflicts, the Security Council encourages coordinated action by other components of the United Nations system to remedy the underlying causes of threats to peace and security. The Council is convinced that the organizations and agencies of the United Nations system, in the development and implementation of their programmes, need to be constantly sensitive to the goal of strengthening international peace and security as envisaged in Article 1 of the Charter.

"The Security Council recognizes that post-conflict peace-building, in the context of overall efforts to build the foundations of peace, in order to be effective, also needs adequate financial resources. The Council, therefore, recognizes that it is important for Member States and financial and other United Nations bodies and agencies, as well as other organizations outside the United Nations system, to make all possible efforts to have adequate funding available for specific projects, such as the earliest possible return of refugees and displaced persons to their homes of origin, in post-conflict situations.

"The Security Council, as the organ having primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, fully recognizes, as stated in paragraph 59 of 'An Agenda for Peace', that social peace is as important as strategic or political peace and supports the Secretary-General's view that there is a new requirement for technical assistance for the purposes described in that paragraph.

"The Security Council intends to continue its consideration of the Secretary-General's report entitled 'An Agenda for Peace', as indicated in the President's statement of 29 October 1992 (S/24728)."

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S/25697
29 April 1993

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

LETTER DATED 26 APRIL 1993 FROM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

In my letter dated 21 December 1992, I informed the members of the Security Council of my intention to send to Tajikistan a small integrated United Nations unit of political, military and humanitarian officers who would monitor the situation on the ground, provide liaison services and constitute a ground core for any possible more extensive United Nations participation in the regional efforts in Tajikistan in the future.

This unit, which is referred to as the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT), became operational on 21 January 1993, and has provided me with valuable up-to-date information on the conflict situation in Tajikistan. It has also been instrumental in coordinating the international community's response to the humanitarian situation in the country.

Recent reports from UNMOT have led me to conclude that there could be an escalation of the confrontation, especially in the border areas between Tajikistan and Afghanistan, unless urgent action is taken to establish a cease-fire and start a political dialogue among all concerned for the earliest possible solution of the problem.

I have accordingly decided, after consulting with the Government of Tajikistan and others concerned, to appoint Ambassador Ismat Kittani as my Special Envoy for Tajikistan. His mandate will be as follows:

(a) To obtain agreement on a cease-fire and make recommendations on such international monitoring mechanisms as may be appropriate;

(b) To ascertain the positions of all the concerned parties and make good offices available to assist the establishment of a process of negotiations for a political solution;

(c) To enlist the help of neighbouring countries and others concerned in achieving the above objectives.

I have asked Ambassador Kittani to report to me on the results achieved after approximately three months, at which time a decision will be taken on whether to extend his appointment.

In these circumstances I believe it is also necessary to extend the mandate of UNMOT for an additional three months so that it can continue its monitoring and humanitarian efforts as well as providing support to the Special Envoy.

I should be grateful if you would bring this matter to the attention of the members of the Security Council.

(Signed) Boutros BOUTROS-GHALI

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GENERAL

S/25698
29 April 1993

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

LETTER DATED 29 APRIL 1993 FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I have the honour to inform you that your letter dated 26 April 1993 (S/25697) concerning Tajikistan has been brought to the attention of the members of the Council. After having held consultations, the members of the Council have asked me to express their appreciation for the work of the small integrated United Nations team sent to Tajikistan. They are concerned at the situation in Tajikistan as reported in your letter and accordingly welcome your decision to appoint Ambassador Ismat Kittani as your Special Envoy for Tajikistan. They also welcome your proposal that the small team of United Nations officials currently in Tajikistan should remain there for a further three months.

The members of the Council look forward to further reports on developments in Tajikistan, on Ambassador Kittani's mission as it develops, and on any future recommendations you wish to make in the context of that mission.

(Signed) Jamsheed K. A. MARKER
President of the Security Council

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GENERAL

S/25699
29 April 1993
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: RUSSIAN

LETTER DATED 29 APRIL 1993 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of the statement issued on 27 April 1993 by Mr. B. N. Yeltsin, President of the Russian Federation, concerning the question of a settlement in the former Yugoslavia.

I should be grateful if you would have this letter and the text of the statement circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Y. VORONTSOV

Annex

Statement by Mr. B. N. Yeltsin, President of the Russian Federation, concerning the question of a settlement in the former Yugoslavia

In a statement issued on 9 March, the President of Russia emphasized that there was no alternative to the Vance-Owen plan and pointed out that any party to the conflict which did not accept it in principle would incur serious responsibility.

Today, in spite of all the efforts that have been made, the plan was rejected by the Assembly of the Bosnian Serbs. The referendum on the Vance-Owen plan which they will be holding in mid-May must result in a more carefully considered decision.

The Russian Federation will not protect anyone who opposes the international community. Both the Serbian nationalists and any other parties to the conflict who are counting on force will meet with a sharp rebuff from the United Nations.

In the present circumstances, it is especially important that unity should exist among the permanent members of the Security Council, the European Community, all peace-loving States and international organizations.

It was precisely such considerations which led us to put forward our proposals for various courses of action, such as a meeting of the opposing sides in the area of the conflict under the auspices of the joint chairmen and the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the countries which are permanent members of the Security Council; the stationing of United Nations observers in trouble spots in Bosnia and Herzegovina and on its borders; the convening of a second session of the London Conference or a special meeting on the former Yugoslavia in the context of security in the Balkans as a whole. The time has come for decisive action to extinguish the conflict.

UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/25700*
30 April 1993

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

REPORT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL MISSION ESTABLISHED PURSUANT TO RESOLUTION 819 (1993)

Letter of transmittal

Letter dated 30 April 1993 from the Security Council Mission established pursuant to resolution 819 (1993) addressed to the President of the Security Council

We, the members of the Security Council Mission established pursuant to resolution 819 (1993), have the honour to submit to you herewith our report in accordance with paragraph 12 of that resolution.

(Signed) Hervé LADSOUS (France)

André ERDOS (Hungary)

Terrence O'BRIEN (New Zealand)

Sher Afgan KHAN (Pakistan)

Vasiliy SIDOROV (Russian Federation)

Diego ARRIA (Venezuela)
(Coordinator)

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* Reissued for technical reasons.

INTRODUCTION

1. At its 3199th meeting, on 16 April 1993, the Security Council adopted unanimously resolution 819 (1993), which reads as follows:

"The Security Council,

"Reaffirming its resolution 713 (1991) of 25 September 1991 and all its subsequent relevant resolutions,

"Taking note that the International Court of Justice in its Order of 8 April 1993 in the case concerning application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro)) unanimously indicated as a provisional measure that the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) should immediately, in pursuance of its undertaking in the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide of 9 December 1948, take all measures within its power to prevent the commission of the crime of genocide,

"Reaffirming the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina,

"Reaffirming its call on the parties and others concerned to observe immediately the cease-fire throughout the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina,

"Reaffirming its condemnation of all violations of international humanitarian law, including, in particular, the practice of 'ethnic cleansing',

"Concerned by the pattern of hostilities by Bosnian Serb paramilitary units against towns and villages in eastern Bosnia and in this regard reaffirming that any taking or acquisition of territory by the threat or use of force, including through the practice of 'ethnic cleansing', is unlawful and unacceptable,

"Deeply alarmed at the information provided by the Secretary-General to the Security Council on 16 April 1993 on the rapid deterioration of the situation in Srebrenica and its surrounding areas, as a result of the continued deliberate armed attacks and shelling of the innocent civilian population by Bosnian Serb paramilitary units,

"Strongly condemning the deliberate interdiction by Bosnian Serb paramilitary units of humanitarian assistance convoys,

"Also strongly condemning the actions taken by Bosnian Serb paramilitary units against UNPROFOR, in particular, their refusal to guarantee the safety and freedom of movement of UNPROFOR personnel,

"Aware that a tragic humanitarian emergency has already developed in Srebrenica and its surrounding areas as a direct consequence of the brutal actions of Bosnian Serb paramilitary units, forcing the large-scale displacement of civilians, in particular women, children and the elderly,

"Recalling the provisions of resolution 815 (1993) on the mandate of UNPROFOR and in that context acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

"1. Demands that all parties and others concerned treat Srebrenica and its surroundings as a safe area which should be free from any armed attack or any other hostile act;

"2. Demands also to that effect the immediate cessation of armed attacks by Bosnian Serb paramilitary units against Srebrenica and their immediate withdrawal from the areas surrounding Srebrenica;

"3. Demands that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) immediately cease the supply of military arms, equipment and services to the Bosnian Serb paramilitary units in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina;

"4. Requests the Secretary-General, with a view to monitoring the humanitarian situation in the safe area, to take immediate steps to increase the presence of UNPROFOR in Srebrenica and its surroundings; demands that all parties and others concerned cooperate fully and promptly with UNPROFOR towards that end; and requests the Secretary-General to report urgently thereon to the Security Council;

"5. Reaffirms that any taking or acquisition of territory by the threat or use of force, including through the practice of 'ethnic cleansing', is unlawful and unacceptable;

"6. Condemns and rejects the deliberate actions of the Bosnian Serb party to force the evacuation of the civilian population from Srebrenica and its surrounding areas as well as from other parts of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina as part of its overall abhorrent campaign of 'ethnic cleansing';

"7. Reaffirms its condemnation of all violations of international humanitarian law, in particular the practice of 'ethnic cleansing' and reaffirms that those who commit or order the commission of such acts shall be held individually responsible in respect of such acts;

"8. Demands the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance to all parts of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in particular to the civilian population of Srebrenica and its surrounding areas and recalls that such impediments to the delivery of humanitarian assistance constitute a serious violation of international humanitarian law;

"9. Urges the Secretary-General and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to use all the resources at their disposal within the scope of the relevant resolutions of the Council to reinforce the

existing humanitarian operations in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in particular Srebrenica and its surroundings;

"10. Further demands that all parties guarantee the safety and full freedom of movement of UNPROFOR and of all other United Nations personnel as well as members of humanitarian organizations;

"11. Further requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with UNHCR and UNPROFOR, to arrange for the safe transfer of the wounded and ill civilians from Srebrenica and its surrounding areas and to urgently report thereon to the Council;

"12. Decides to send, as soon as possible, a mission of members of the Security Council to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to ascertain the situation and report thereon to the Security Council;

"13. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter and to consider further steps to achieve a solution in conformity with relevant resolutions of the Council."

I. MANDATE AND SCOPE OF ACTIVITIES

2. Pursuant to paragraph 12 of Security Council resolution 819 (1993) of 16 April 1993, a mission of the Council was dispatched to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina with a view to ascertaining the situation on the ground and reporting thereon. The Mission also visited the cities of Zagreb and Split in Croatia, and Belgrade in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). The Mission took place from the evening of 22 April to the morning of 27 April.

3. The actual terms of reference were left to the Mission members to agree upon among themselves. Accordingly, the members decided to meet the leaders of the three parties to the conflict, President Alija Izetbegović of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dr. Radovan Karadžić, the Bosnian Serb leader, and Mr. Mate Boban, leader of the Bosnian Croats. Additionally, the Mission met with the UNPROFOR Force Commander and other commanders, representatives of the UNHCR and ICRC and local authorities of places where hostilities were occurring and inspected such areas as well. The Mission also met Vice-President Ejup Ganić of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and President Franjo Tudjman of the Republic of Croatia.

4. Details of the places visited and the meetings held by the mission are given in annex I to the present report.

II. SITUATION ON THE GROUND

A. Srebrenica

5. The Mission was flown in by United Nations helicopters from the headquarters in Kiseljak via Tuzla and Zvornik while the evacuation of sick and wounded civilians was taking place. No fighting had been reported since 18 April.

6. The killing of civilians by Muslims was viewed by the Serbs as justifying their offensive. The assessment of Lieutenant-General Lars-Eric Wahlgren (UNPROFOR Force Commander) is that it all reflected a chain reaction by all parties. In his view, all sides are committing atrocities at different levels, but only Serbs are taking territory.

7. Srebrenica, which used to be a spa resort, today has a population of approximately 20,000 to 28,000 people, of whom between 8,000 and 10,000 are locals. The rest are displaced persons from surrounding villages that were destroyed by Serbs. The whole enclave today holds 70,000 people.

8. The prevailing conditions of overcrowding, lack of drinking water, which has been cut off, the absence of electricity, sanitation and basic medical assistance represent an extraordinarily dramatic and cruel situation for the people of Srebrenica, many of whom are sleeping in the streets.

9. Streets are being used as toilet facilities. The damage and destruction of more than 50 per cent of the town's houses and public facilities are also creating significant health problems and dangerous sanitary conditions, with the possibility that such a hazardous situation might lead to epidemics, as reported by UNHCR and ICRC.

10. Thousands of people are wandering the streets without any occupation or purposeful activity. Fortunately, food provisions have been arriving by road and airdrops. Although humanitarian aid convoys have not been interrupted, they are subjected to constant harassment at the checkpoint at the entrance to the town and obstacles to free access, contrary to the demand of resolution 819 (1993). The helicopters to evacuate the wounded and the sick are subjected to similar treatment. Thus, the Serbs are determined to show that they are in effective control of the town, that it is at their mercy and that they have not taken Srebrenica only because of the adoption of Security Council resolution 819 (1993). Generals Wahlgren and Morillon stated to the Mission that without such Security Council action the agreement of 18 April 1993 (annex II) between the Bosnian Serbs and the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the demilitarization of Srebrenica would not have been reached.

11. As a precondition to the arrival by helicopter of UNPROFOR and the Mission in Srebrenica, the Serbs demanded that they first land at Zvornik to be checked thoroughly by them. All flights to and from Srebrenica must also land at Zvornik. Furthermore, upon its return from Srebrenica, the Mission was held in Zvornik against its will for half an hour.

12. Before the agreement of 18 April 1993 the town had been under intense shelling; it was surrounded and totally isolated. The situation forced the

local Srebrenica authorities to agree to a settlement by which only the Muslim side was to disarm under the supervision of UNPROFOR. That agreement was subsequently concluded by the Bosnian Commander, General Halilović, at Sarajevo.

13. In Zagreb the Mission learned from General Wahlgren that these negotiations had been initiated at least a month before the Security Council was informed "of the imminent fall of the city and that negotiations were now taking place at the airport of Sarajevo to reach a cease-fire and prevent the slaughter of the population".

14. The Council should note that when it was discussing resolution 819 (1993), it did not know that negotiations involving the Force Commander of UNPROFOR had been taking place and that UNPROFOR had participated actively in the drafting and in the process of convincing the Bosnian Commander to sign the agreement. The alternative could have been a massacre of 25,000 people. It definitely was an extraordinary emergency situation that had prompted UNPROFOR to act.

15. Both the President and the Vice-President of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina informed us that they had been reminded by the UNPROFOR officers that no outside support would be forthcoming and that they were evidently defenceless. They had to sign the agreement under duress. As noted below, the Mission feels that lessons should be drawn from this experience, both in terms of the need for adequate and opportune information and of the hard choices that may have to be considered.

16. The Srebrenica arrangement cannot be a model but should inspire action by the Security Council to prevent the fall of further enclaves and territories, such as Gorazde, Zepa and Tuzla, which demand immediate action. We know enough today about the conditions prevailing in these towns, notwithstanding Dr. Karadžić's assurance to the Mission that his forces would not attack Gorazde or Tuzla.

17. There is no doubt that had this agreement not been reached, most probably a massacre would have taken place, which justifies the efforts of the UNPROFOR Commander. The population has been saved - obviously under the extreme conditions described above, which will require urgent actions to correct them.

18. Srebrenica is today the equivalent of an open jail in which its people can wander around but are controlled and terrorized by the increasing presence of Serb tanks and other heavy weapons in its immediate surroundings. The UNHCR representative described the town as a "bad refugee camp".

19. During the Mission's briefing at Srebrenica, the representative of ICRC informed it that the Serbs were not allowing surgeons to enter the city, in direct violation of international humanitarian law. There were many wounded requiring surgery. The only surgeon in the city has not been authorized to stay by the Serbs. To impede medical assistance is a crime of genocide. This action, together with the cutting of the water supply and electricity, have put into effect a slow-motion process of genocide.

20. The school where only two weeks ago 15 children were blasted by mortar fire is today a refugee centre for children who, according to the observations of

both the Mission and ICRC, represent a danger as a source of epidemics which might spread and kill the other children of the city as well. Another aspect of the prevailing conditions of the city is that the mutilated remains of the children who were playing soccer when they were killed are still scattered in the area.

21. The sick and the wounded can only be evacuated after a "triage", or examination process, is done by Serbian doctors in conjunction with ICRC, who perform this function at the UNPROFOR helicopter landing area. The Serbian officers who escorted us by helicopter to Srebrenica were also present.

22. The displaced population cannot be relocated to the surrounding areas because the Serb forces are now entrenched there. And even if they wanted to leave, the Serbs are allowing the departure of only the sick, the wounded and dependent women and children.

23. The Mission was also informed by officials of UNHCR that the tents to shelter refugees that they had tried to bring into the city had been confiscated at the Serb checkpoint in Srebrenica because they were considered "military equipment". This represents another impediment to the delivery of humanitarian assistance, in contravention of resolution 819 (1993).

24. Accompanied by the Canadian Battalion Commander, the Mission visited the UNPROFOR observation posts in the mountains surrounding the city. Forty-seven new trenches have been dug by the Serbs in the last week. Tanks and heavy weapons could be seen at a distance of 900 metres from one observation post. Evidently the Serb paramilitary forces not only are not withdrawing as demanded by resolution 819 (1993) but are increasing their pressure on the town.

25. The Serbian colonel in charge of Zvornik, Colonel Rodić, and one of his officers accompanied the Mission during its tour of that town, including the school where the children had been killed by Serb forces. The Mission raised the issue of the surgeon for Srebrenica and Colonel Rodić offered to solve the matter.

26. The Mission identified certain shortcomings in the cease-fire arrangements negotiated at Srebrenica, both in their content and the way they were secured. These include issues relating to the maintenance of basic services and indispensable support services.

27. The short-range perspectives of Srebrenica are the following:

(a) The town is practically under siege, with Serbian forces controlling access to it.

(b) Inhuman conditions prevail, with potentially catastrophic consequences.

(c) Dr. Karadžić indicated to the Mission at its meeting with him at the Belgrade airport that he would not take the town, that the water supply would be immediately restored and that humanitarian convoys would be allowed, "subject to inspection".

(d) Even though Security Council resolution 819 (1993) declared the city a safe area, the actual situation obviously does not correspond to either the spirit or the intent of the resolution.

(e) The Serb forces do not appear to be ready to withdraw. On the contrary, they are today larger than when the resolution was adopted.

(f) The Commander of the Canadian Battalion informed the Mission that the Serbs have "their own interpretation of the demilitarization agreement". The Chief of Staff of UNPROFOR at Kiseljak reported to us that "even though the Security Council is obviously an important organ of the United Nations it is of no importance to the Serbs in the area".

(g) Even five Serbian soldiers were able to detain for 24 hours a humanitarian convoy arriving at Sarajevo, and they subjected the Mission, in the outskirts of the city, to a delay of one and a half hours, during which time a sub-machine gun mounted on a tank was aimed at the vehicle, in which the Coordinator of the Mission was travelling because he had in his possession a camera. The fact that five Serbian soldiers were able to defy a large group of soldiers and officers who were with the Mission should be noted by the Council in order to understand the actual conditions that UNPROFOR faces. The attitude of defiance of the Serbs towards the United Nations in general is a matter that should concern the Council. The Serbs obviously have little respect for UNPROFOR's authority.

(h) The Serb forces must withdraw to points from which they cannot attack, harass or terrorize the town. UNPROFOR should be in a position to determine the related parameters. The Mission believes, as does UNPROFOR, that the actual 4 1/2 by 1/2 kilometres decided as a safe area should be greatly expanded.

(i) The water supply must be resumed. Today this is - if possible - of greater human value and priority than the withdrawal of the Serb forces. Cutting off the water supply is a criminal practice and the Council should demand its immediate cessation. Not to do so would be tantamount to condemning the people of Srebrenica to abject conditions and more human misery.

(j) Not to allow surgeons to enter and stay in Srebrenica is also a grave violation of international humanitarian law. The Serbs should be warned of the implications of such violations. The Council should consider urgent measures in this respect.

(k) The Mission feels that the Security Council should also be kept more fully informed of developments and consulted accordingly - not with a view to "micro-managing" but in order to be in a position to discharge its responsibilities effectively.

(l) The presence of the Council members in Srebrenica was highly appreciated, as evidenced by public manifestations. The Mayor and the authorities expressed a feeling of encouragement by the visit. President Izetbegović said that the visit "represented a symbol of hope for all of his people".

B. Gorazde, Zepa and Tuzla

28. Gorazde and Zepa in particular are today in a situation of great vulnerability. The outcome could be similar to that in Srebrenica if firm actions are not taken immediately. A Security Council resolution to declare them safe areas should be considered without delay in consultation with UNPROFOR.

29. Tuzla is in a different situation, but the displaced persons (200,000) who have moved there are weakening its capacity to resist. The Mission also recommends that it be declared a safe area.

30. UNPROFOR monitors should be deployed around the cease-fire lines, in larger safe areas, but in a way that would not prejudge future implementation of the Vance-Owen plan.

C. Sarajevo - a safe area

31. Sarajevo is one of the oldest cities in Europe and one with a truly ecumenical vocation. It is a symbol of plurality where Serbs, Croats, Jews and Muslims, have coexisted for centuries. This capital of all the peoples of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina should immediately become a safe area. The one-year siege must be terminated. The multicultural character of the city must be guaranteed. It will be a message of hope to the whole country.

D. Vitez

32. The Mission visited the British battalion headquarters at Vitez. It received a briefing by its Commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Stewart, and his staff about the developments in central Bosnia which prompted the statement by the President of the Security Council on 21 April (S/25646) regarding the killings and massacres of Muslim families and the burning of their homes undertaken in complete defiance of the UNPROFOR presence.

33. The Mission was taken to a house in Ahinici where the charred bodies of an entire family could still be seen. They seemed to have been shot and then burned - a tragic event with serious consequences of violent reaction by the Muslims in the area. In fact, three days later Muslims set fire to several houses.

34. The conflict developing in central Bosnia could generate even further atrocities by extremist groups if they are not immediately controlled and stopped.

35. Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart demanded that the Croatian Defence Council (HVO) give a full explanation. In this context the Mission spoke in unequivocal terms with Mr. Mate Boban and with President Tudjman of Croatia. Both were informed of the Security Council's condemnation of these events and the Mission called upon them to act immediately in order to avoid similar recurrences.

36. Mr. Boban, with whom the Mission met at the airport in Split, denied the participation of his forces in these acts, which he said were the acts of radical groups (General Wahlgren had informed us that this group even had swastikas on their clothing).

37. Mr. Boban, while expressing his condemnation of these acts, nevertheless stated that "one must not look only to the effects but to the causes", and that "Croats have been massacred by Muslims". The Mission expressed its deep concern and told him that these developments could seriously tarnish his image and that of the Croats in general, not to mention the repercussions that it could have on the Republic of Croatia.

38. Mr. Boban said he had just returned from Zagreb, where he had met with President Izetbegović and President Tudjman to finalize a new agreement with the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to create a joint command of their armies and to cooperate in putting an end to the conflict between Croats and Muslims (see annex III). They also agreed to move forward on their own towards the implementation of the Vance-Owen plan. This agreement, if implemented, would of course be of considerable significance.

39. Mr. Boban stated that he favoured the creation of an international tribunal to judge acts of atrocities. He also stated that his forces would "shoot" anyone who committed any atrocity.

40. The Mission conveyed to President Tudjman its appreciation for his signature of the agreement, which is seen as a step towards the implementation of the Vance-Owen plan.

41. The Mission also conveyed to him its shock and horror at the killings by Croats of Muslims in central Bosnia and called upon him to help actively in preventing any recurrence of these outrageous incidents and bringing those responsible to immediate justice. President Tudjman agreed that the acts of inhumanity were unpardonable but said that as long as causes existed for provocation, there may be a temptation to resort to such acts of horror which were typical not only of the Bosnian Croats. He promised to use his influence to see that the guilty were punished.

42. President Tudjman also expressed his fears of the expansion of Serbia, which threatened the area of Krajina in Croatia. He said that the Serbs were convinced that the world community would not employ force. It was therefore necessary that pressure be brought to bear upon them. This could be achieved by air strikes on their supplies to Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. He suggested that United Nations peace-keeping forces could also be deployed to monitor any supplies from Serbia. He expressed the belief that Serbia would not be able to defy the whole world.

43. Referring to the problems in UNPAs in Croatia in January 1993, President Tudjman said that the terms agreed to with local Serb authorities had not been honoured and that they had received cross border assistance from Serbia, which had precipitated the crisis. He also stressed that there could be no other solution to the Bosnian conflict but the creation of a confederation with three constituent nations under a United Nations protectorate.

III. OBSERVATIONS

44. In all the circumstances, the UNPROFOR performance in Bosnia is notable. But the question needs to be posed, is the restriction of its role essentially to a supportive humanitarian one, viable in the deteriorating circumstances in Bosnia? Several soldiers in the field expressed deep frustration and anguish to members of the Mission with regard to the restrictions under which they operate. General Wahlgren informed the Mission of his view that "more intensive" peace-keeping by his force in Bosnia should be possible. At the same time he underlined that UNPROFOR resources are heavily stretched and additional tasks would require additional UNPROFOR capability, especially if monitors were to be deployed along the lines of a cease-fire, as suggested by Dr. Karadžić.

45. The Mission believes that the imminent renewal by the Security Council of UNPROFOR's mandate should be the occasion for the Council to address the following issues in detail:

(1) What advantages are there in the Council's declaring the eastern Bosnian towns of Zepa, Gorazde (and perhaps others?) as Security Council safe areas, as an act of preventive diplomacy, before they come under possible direct attack from Serbian forces?

(2) If this action is deemed feasible and desirable, the deployment of UNPROFOR forces with a revised mandate, based on speedy recommendation from the Secretary-General and UNPROFOR's Force Commander, would be urgently required;

(3) At the same time, the actual terms will be required to define Security Council safe areas in each locality in terms of size, the extent of disarmament and demilitarization, the establishment of buffer zones or some other forms of physical separation as well as associated socio-economic factors (covering water and electricity supply) and access to and by humanitarian supplies; the basic role for UNPROFOR under a revised mandate would be to ensure compliance with the terms agreed upon by all parties, including the use of effective monitoring activity;

(4) In the Mission's view, serious attention needs to be given to bestowing a greater reconnaissance capability upon UNPROFOR - even in a situation where no change in its role was envisaged and its essentially humanitarian support role was maintained.

46. The Mission believes that the designation of certain towns/enclaves as Security Council safe areas deserves serious consideration as an act of Security Council preventive diplomacy. But in any resolution to give effect to such designation, it should be clearly and emphatically recorded that the establishment of Security Council safe areas in no way undermines the proposed settlement details of the Vance-Owen plan. It is not an attempt to create new and different internal boundaries within Bosnia.

47. The Mission recognizes that such a decision would require a larger UNPROFOR presence, a revised mandate to encompass cease-fire/safe area monitoring and different rules of engagement; but it would be a step that stops short of the sort of military strike enforcement measures that are now being so openly

debated. It would not rule out eventual consideration of such measures - but at a next stage, if the Serbs simply ignored the integrity of Security Council safe areas; nor would it, on the other hand, automatically predetermine a move to military strikes. Moreover, such a graduated step would not of itself call into question the integrity of the humanitarian aid effort, as would a decision to move immediately to military strikes.

48. The Mission reckons with the fact that these actions would represent a significant strengthening of the UNPROFOR role. Designation of Security Council safe areas would have to be done with the clear intent that they would, once established, be enforced or defended if need be.

IV. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

49. The Mission wishes to put on record its admiration for General Wahlgren, General Morillon and UNPROFOR military and civilian staff for their outstanding performance in discharge of their duties under extremely difficult and demanding conditions which became evident to the members of the Mission during their visit.

50. The Mission was specially impressed by the motivation and dedication of UNHCR staff and also by ICRC representatives in the area, as well as by the level of cooperation and sense of teamwork between those organizations. The Mission was equally impressed by the selfless contributions of the non-governmental organizations in the area.

51. Last but not least, the Mission would like to pay a special tribute to the courageous Canadian Forces in Srebrenica. They have brought hope to the people of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Annex I

Itinerary

23 April 1993

Arrival at Zagreb	Briefing at UNPROFOR headquarters by: Lt.-Gen. Lars-Eric Wahlgren (Force Commander) Lt.-Gen. Philippe Morillon (Commander BH Command) Brigadier Bo Pellnas (Chief Military Observer) Col. Michel Maisonneuve (Chief Operations Officer) Miss Emma Shitaka (UNPROFOR Civil Affairs) Mr. Cedric Thornberry (Chief of Civil Affairs Adm.)

24 April 1993

Arrival at Sarajevo	Meeting with President Izetbegović of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina
Arrival at Kiseljak	Briefing by: Brigadier G. de V. W. Hayes (Chief of Staff of BH Command in Kiseljak) Mr. José María Mendiluce (Coordinator of United Nations humanitarian assistance in the former Yugoslavia, UNHCR) Mr. Urs Boegli (Coordinator of ICRC operations for the former Yugoslavia)
Arrival at Vitez	Briefing by Lt.-Col. Robert Stewart (Commanding Officer of the British Battalion) and his information officer

25 April 1993

Arrival at Srebrenica	Meeting with: Col. Rodić (Senior representative of the Bosnian Serb Army) Major Mile Popović (Senior representative of the Bosnian Serb Army) Major Zaim Civić (Representative of the Bosnian Army) Major Enver Madzić (Representative of the Bosnian Army)

	Briefing by: Lt.-Col. Thomas K. D. Geburt (Commanding Officer, 2nd Battalion, The Royal Canadian Regiment) and his deputy Mr. Jean-Claude Amiot (UNHCR) Mr. François Bellon (Head of ICRC Task Force on the former Yugoslavia in Geneva) Mr. José María Mendiluce (Coordinator of United Nations humanitarian assistance in the former Yugoslavia, UNHCR)
Arrival at UNPROFOR observation post	Briefing by Master Corporal Gaudet (2nd Battalion, Royal Canadian Regiment)
Arrival at Tuzla	Brief meeting with the Mayor of Tuzla
Arrival at Split	Meeting with Mr. Mate Boban and his military commander
<u>26 April 1993</u>	
Arrival at Belgrade (airport)	Meeting with Dr. Radovan Karadžić and his Assistant, Mr. Sveto Plavsić
Arrival at Zagreb (UNPROFOR headquarters)	Meeting with Gen. Wahlgren, Gen. Morillon and Mr. Thornberry
Airport	Meeting with President Tudjman of the Republic of Croatia and the following: - Dr. Jure Radić, Chief of Staff - Mr. Vladimir Seks, Deputy Prime Minister - Dr. Mate Granić, Deputy Prime Minister - Dr. Zdenko Škrabalo, Foreign Minister - Dr. Branimir Jakšić, Deputy Chief of Staff - Ms. Zdravka Bušić, Adviser - Mr. Zdravko Gavran, Adviser
Embassy of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Meeting with Vice-President Ganić of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Mr. Mirko Pejanović, Member of the Presidency

Annex II

Agreement for the demilitarization of Srebrenica

At a meeting held at Sarajevo on 17 April 1993, Lt.-Gen. Mladić and Gen. Halilović, in the presence of Lt.-Gen. Wahlgren, representing UNPROFOR, acting as a mediator, agreed the following:

1. A total cease-fire in the Srebrenica area effective from 0159 on 18 April 1993. Freezing all combat actions on the achieved lines of confrontation including supporting artillery and rocket fire.

2. The deployment of a company group of UNPROFOR into Srebrenica by 1100 18 April 1993. This company group is guaranteed safe and unhindered passage from Tuzla to Srebrenica by both sides.

3. The opening of an air corridor between Tuzla and Srebrenica via Zvornik for evacuation of the seriously wounded and seriously ill. The air corridor opens at 1200 18 April 1993 and continues on 19 April 1993, weather permitting, for as long as it takes to evacuate all the existing seriously wounded and seriously ill. The helicopters will fly from Tuzla to Zvornik and land for an inspection at Zvornik which will not cause unnecessary delay to the evacuation. The seriously wounded and seriously ill will be evacuated after identification by UNPROFOR in the presence of two doctors from each side and the ICRC. All categories of seriously wounded and seriously ill will be evacuated by air unhindered by either side. The number of seriously wounded and seriously ill is believed to be approximately 500. This will be verified on 18 April 1993 by UNPROFOR and the result notified to each side.

4. The demilitarization of Srebrenica will be complete within 72 hours of the arrival of the UNPROFOR company in Srebrenica (1100 hours 18 April 1993; if they arrive later this will be changed). All weapons, ammunition, mines, explosives and combat supplies (except medicines) inside Srebrenica will be submitted/ handed over to UNPROFOR under the supervision of three officers from each side with control carried out by UNPROFOR. No armed persons or units except UNPROFOR will remain within the city once the demilitarization process is complete. Responsibility for the demilitarization process remains with UNPROFOR.

5. A working group will be established to decide the details of the demilitarization of Srebrenica. This group will study in particular: the action to be taken if the demilitarization is not complete within 72 hours; the correct treatment for any personnel who hand over/submit their weapons to UNPROFOR. The working group will report to Lt.-Gen. Wahlgren, Lt.-Gen. Ratko Mladić and Gen. Sefer Halilović. The first report will be made at a meeting to be held at Sarajevo airport on Monday, 19 April 1993, at 1200.

6. Both sides are to submit a report on the minefields and explosive obstacles in the Srebrenica area to UNPROFOR. Each side is to clear its minefields under the supervision of UNPROFOR.

7. Neither side is to hinder the freedom of movement. The UNHCR and ICRC are to investigate allegations of hindrance of movement in Srebrenica and Tuzla in particular.

8. Humanitarian aid will continue to be allowed into the city as planned.

9. The officers and the doctors supervising the demilitarization process are under the protection of UNPROFOR; their safety is to be guaranteed by both conflicting sides.

10. The working group is to make recommendations on carrying out an exchange of the prisoners, the killed and the wounded according to the principle "all for all" in the region of Srebrenica within 10 days. This is to be under the control of the ICRC.

11. All the disputed issues are to be resolved by a mixed military working group or at another meeting of the respective delegations of the conflicting sides under the mediation of Lt.-Gen. Wahlgren.

Signed:

Gen. Sefer HALILOVIĆ

Lt.-Gen. Ratko MLADIĆ

Witnessed by:

Lt.-Gen. Lars-Eric WAHLGREN

The 18th day of April 1993

Annex III

Mr. Alija Izetbegović and Mr. Mate Boban, at the meeting convoked in Zagreb on 24 April 1993, by the Co-Chairman of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia Lord David Owen, and the President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tud'man, in the presence of Ambassador Peter Hall, Ambassador Herbert Okun, Ambassador Peter Ahrens, Brigadier John Wilson, Brigadier Messervy-Whithing, Mr. Frederick Eckhard, Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Brade, Dr. Jure Radić, Mr. Vladimir Šeks, Mr. Gojko Šušak, Dr. Zdenko Škrabalo, General Janko Bobetko, Ambassador Zdravko Sančević, Dr. Željko Matić, Mr. Ivan Jamjak, Dr. Branimir Jakšić, Brigadier Mile Ćuk, Mr. Ejup Ganić, General Sefer Halilović, Ambassador Bisera Turković, Ambassador Muhamed Šaćirbegović, Mr. Kasim Trnsko and Major-General Milivoj Petković, have issued after the meeting the following .

Joint Statement

1. In accordance with the Agreement between Mr. Alija Izetbegović, Mr. Haris Silajdžić, Mr. Mate Boban and Mr. Mile Akmadžić, concluded on 3 March 1993 in New York, the six members of the coordination body, i.e. Mr. Alija Izetbegović, Mr. Ejup Ganić and Mr. Fikret Abdić, and Mr. Mate Boban, Mr. Mile Akmadžić and Mr. Franjo Boras, will start working within the shortest possible time.

The coordination body will work on the implementation of the Vance-Owen plan to the extent possible, considering the character of the provisions and the present circumstances.

2. In connection with the renewal of the conflicts between the two armies (the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Croatian Defence Council) in central Bosnia and some other parts of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which have caused many casualties and serious violations of international humanitarian law, thus posing the threat of far-reaching political consequences, the signatories to this Joint Statement hereby order all military units of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of the Croatian Defence Council (HVO) to immediately cease fire and all hostilities in all areas where such military units are in contact.

3. The signatories to this Joint Statement urge all commanders and units of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of the Croatian Defence Council (HVO) to unconditionally respect all the thus far concluded agreements between the representatives of the Croatian and Muslim peoples in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In particular, they urge military units of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of the Croatian Defence Council to immediately start implementing the Agreement on the legality of both the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the HVO, and on the establishment of a joint command of both forces made up of representatives of both headquarters (enclosure).

4. The signatories to the Joint Statement reaffirm that the conflicts between units of the HVO and of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina are contrary to the policy of the representatives of the

two peoples, and that the continuation of such conflicts would seriously jeopardize the achievement of their political goals, i.e. the independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina within the framework of the Vance-Owen plan accepted and signed by the signatories to this Statement, and success in the fight against the aggressor who wants to break the State apart, occupy its territory and annex the occupied territories to "Greater Serbia".

5. The signatories to the Joint Statement condemn most severely all violations of the rules of international humanitarian law regardless of their perpetrators, both sides having been responsible according to data available so far, and undertake to urgently initiate joint and individual inquests concerning each instance of violation of such rights and immediately examine personal responsibility for the conflicts and crimes perpetrated against the civilian population.

The signatories also agree that the facts be established by a special independent international commission.

6. The signatories urge the cessation of mutual accusations leading to a media war.

(The Croatian version shall apply.)

(Signed) Mate BOBAN (Signed) Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ

Witnessed by:

Dr. Franjo TUD'MAN

25 April 1993, 0045 h

Enclosure

Command structure for the BiH Army and the HVO

1. The BiH Army and the HVO will retain their separate identities and command structures. Their functions will include all aspects of personnel, logistics, administration, training, morale and identity.

2. They will form a Joint Command which will be responsible for the operational control of military districts.

3. The Joint Command will consist of the two Commanders-in-Chief, General Halilović and General Petković, who will meet on a regular basis, at least weekly. They will form a permanent joint headquarters to be located at Travnik and consisting of at least three high-calibre officers nominated by each Commander-in-Chief. These officers will work together on a continuous basis to plan and control the operations of all BiH Army and HVO units.

4. The two Commanders-in-Chief will form military districts, under the joint headquarters, whose areas will be related to the operational requirement for joint operations and not to provisional provincial boundaries. Their areas will not overlap. Each military district will have a commander and a deputy appointed by the Joint Command. In each case one will be drawn from the BiH Army and the other from the HVO.

5. Each military district will exercise operational control over all BiH Army and HVO units in its area.

Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ

Mate BOBAN

General Sefer HALILOVIĆ

General Milivoj PETKOVIĆ

Zagreb, 25 April 1993, 0045 h

UNITED
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Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/25701
30 April 1993

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

LETTER DATED 28 APRIL 1993 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF AZERBAIJAN TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

I have the honour to transmit herewith some information concerning the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, contained in reports by independent correspondents and news agencies.

It is absolutely clear to correspondents not connected with the interests of different States in the present conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan, that it is not limited to Karabakh only. The reports indicate direct involvement of Armenia in the conflict, consistently denied by the Armenian officials.

> "The war involving the former Soviet republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan has moved into a dangerous new phase ... The conflict has been altered by Armenian's capture - whether they are from Karabakh or Armenia proper is, typically, in dispute - of a broad belt of Azeri territory connecting the two. Now the integrity of Azerbaijan is at issue." (The Washington Post, 28 April 1993)

> "Fighting between the neighboring former Soviet republics in the southern Caucasus Mountains has intensified" (The Associated Press, 20 April).

> "Azerbaijan has suffered a series of setbacks in the war after Armenia carried out a major offensive early this month to broaden a land corridor between Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh.
>
> The offensive drew sharp criticism from the United Nations." (Agence France Presse, 22 April).

A mere look through the reports by different news agencies from the conflict zone can convince anyone slightly acquainted with geography that the scale of the territory affected, the number of displaced persons as well as the amount of high-tech armaments used in combat, makes a glaring contradiction to Armenia's claim that the war is waged by the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh.

AFP reported on 19 April, quoting ITAR-TASS News Agency: "Three Armenian fighter aircraft bombed the towns of Fizuli and Agdam, while land clashes left a number of people dead and wounded. Attacks by a MIG-23, MIG-25 and SU-25 were followed by land attacks by Armenian troops on the two towns."

The Times reported on 14 April: "One thing is certain: the Kelbadjar region was attacked from Armenia itself, to the west, as well as from Nagorno-Karabakh to the east." The Armenian Government continues to claim that only "Karabakh defence forces" are involved in the fighting, but few Western observers attach any credence to this claim.

> "The Armenians appear to have left open a corridor for the refugees to escape from Kelbadjar, possibly fearing a repetition of the adverse international response which followed the mass killing of civilians after the fall of the town of Hojali last year. However, between 5,000 and 15,000 Azerbaijani civilians remain behind Armenian lines, their fate unknown.
>
> "Intervention could follow if the Armenians were to capture the area of Fizuli, to the south of Nagorno-Karabakh, and set off another wave of refugees. On the other hand, if the Armenians are wise, they will be content with the wide territories they have already captured."

New York Newsday reported on 16 April in an article titled "Armenians now tell lies in the colonial tradition", that Armenia's "flat affirmation of non-involvement in the war in Azerbaijan was but an echo of the voices from Belgrade that disclaim all connection with the conduct of the Serbs in Bosnia".

The Independent, 8 April: "The facts of recent history are in Azerbaijan's favor. It was the Armenians who sought to change the status quo. It is Armenia that has invaded Azerbaijani territory."

The Ottawa Citizen, 13 April: "In a carefully planned and well executed military operation, the Armenians swooped on the remainder of the Azerbaijani territory separating Karabakh from Armenia.

> "In a matter of days the Armenians captured the Kelbadjar and north Lachin districts.
>
> "If they choose, the Armenians could at any time capture the town of Fizuli, giving them control of another swathe of Western Azerbaijan."

The Manchester Guardian Weekly, 18 April, quoted a Western observer after his front-line visit: "I feel pity for Armenians, because this is going to bring a lot of suffering to them. They will become more isolated. They will lose support. They will come ever weaker to the negotiating table because it is extremely difficult to justify what happened." The article continued with the following: "To the Armenians, linking Karabakh to Armenia at the Azerbaijan's expense would seem at best to create a de facto bigger Armenia, at worst to leave them with a strong hand at the negotiating table.

"But the latest offensive may prove Armenia's biggest mistake. A country cannot launch a fully mechanized, partly airborne attack and claim to be the innocent victim in war.

"The offensive makes a nonsense of Yerevan's insistence that it is the Karabakh Armenians who are fighting Azerbaijan, without Armenia's help."

The real causes of the war can be understood from the statements of Armenian officials themselves. Agence France Presse, 17 April: "The independent authorities in Stepanakert as well as Armenia's Defense Minister insist that 'the old borders of the Soviet empire should be redrawn following the lines of the people's right to self-determination'. They insist that Armenia's borders will be pushed just up to the Araxes river, the border between Azerbaijan and Iran."

Everything mentioned can be confirmed by the latest information from the conflict zone which indicates that the Armenian troops are continuing their attacks on different Azerbaijani regions. According to the Ministry of Defence of Azerbaijan, on the morning of 29 April 1993, the Zangelan region of Azerbaijan has been under artillery and missile fire from the territory of the Kafan region of Armenia, several villages of the Kedabek region of Azerbaijan have been shelled from the territory of Krasnoselsk region of Armenia. As a result, the number of casualties among the civilian population of Azerbaijan is constantly increasing.

I hope the facts mentioned in this letter, provided by independent sources, will be helpful to the Security Council in order to understand the essence of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, which can really endanger peace and security in the world, to make a just and exact assessment of the situation, to condemn the aggression against Azerbaijan, a State Member of the United Nations, and to undertake the appropriate measures in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

I would highly appreciate it if this letter could be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Hassan A. HASSANOV
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

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Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/25702
30 April 1993

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

LETTER DATED 29 APRIL 1993 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF CROATIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

In accordance with the provisions of paragraph 5 of Security Council resolution 771 (1992) and paragraph 1 of resolution 780 (1992), as well as in the light of resolution 798 (1992), I have the honour to submit, enclosed herewith, an addition to our earlier submissions of documents concerning war crimes on the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

I would be grateful if you would provide for the distribution of this letter and its annex as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Mario NOBILO
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

Annex

D. I. M. H.
Division of Information and Research
Ministry of Health of the Republic of Croatia

TESTIMONY VU. - VP. - 692

On September 15, 1991, at 7:15 a. m., JNA tanks reached Vuteks. Three armed Chetniks entered our basement, they told us to get out of the basement and we told them that we were civilians. They ordered us to get out . My son was with us, he walked toward the exit and on the third step they shot him. He fell down, his brain poured out of his skull. They shot with a Kalashnikov. There were three Chetniks, among them I recognised the son of Ilija Oreščanin, short, with yellow hair, he lived on Zelena street. The second one was the son of Stevo Zorić who lived on Dalmatinska street and some Siniša Fot, son of Ivica and Savka, his commander was Pero Rupić called Robija. Oreščanin shot my son. When they killed my son, they ordered us again to get out of the basement. My wife, two grandsons and my daughters-in-law were together with me in the basement. I moved first and my wife came after me. They said that we would be evacuated and told us to proceed so we escaped towards Radničko Naselje. We entered Zvonko Vorkanji's basement and there we spent the night. On September 16, we were transferred us to a larger basement, under the super-market in Radničko Naselje. They were looking for me and my cousin who was an invalid, in a wheel-chair. Some young Chetnik from Mirkovci was looking for me, he had white ribbon on his shoulder and he wore a JNA uniform. They were still looking for me but a Serbian woman, married to Croat, protected and saved me. She saved me when this man from Mirkovci was approaching me. Then a man said: "Leave the sick man in peace". We stayed in the basement for two days. Then we were driven to Petrova Gora. Milan Brković called Mića and Zvonko Vorkanji drove us with two cars. Zvonko was a prisoner at this moment. He said that the Serbs from Trpinja knew everything about him. As soon as I arrived in Petrova Gora, at Vorkanji's mother, near the rail-way, I was officially arrested. Then Marko Crevar told me: "Do you know that you are arrested now." Marko Crevar was the commander of the firing squad and Vlado Vezmar was his deputy. I thought that they would shoot me. Marko Crevar and this Vlado from Kobastar, who was working there, put me into a car. They wore civilian clothes, they had Kalashnikovs and guns. They drove me to Svetozara Markovića street No. 222. There I was ordered to get out. Marko Crevar walked in front of me. We walked through some yard, into the garden. However, there they told me that they had missed. Then they maltreated me. In the basement of this house there were six persons: M., J., ... , ... , ... , ... I asked them if they were taking out people during the night. There we stayed for 12 days. We were watched over by guards who were from Vukovar: Kraguljac, Belopetrović, Milan Samardžija and Joja (allegedly he was killed later). Among them there was also some Mile from Serbia, he was the most dangerous one. They wore uniforms, some of them had red stars. Some Cekić Dušan was among them. We were working, cleaning streets and digging up graves for dead people. We were digging up the graves near the new fair grounds, at the end of S. Markovića street, a little on the right side, near Mišir's wine yard, 100 meters from the "Vesela Dolina" inn. The holes were for three-four men. We dug up 20 to 30 holes. There was a small space between the holes. 8, 9 people worked with me. Two of us, together, dug up the holes. Croats were buried in these graves. All the people we buried had civilian clothes, a majority of them were men, from 18 to 30 years. I did not see any women among them. I dug up holes and buried civilians until November 18, 1991. People who were buried had been killed in different ways, most of them had been shot in a head. They had knife wounds, some of them had slit throats. My friends M. and J. worked on another massive grave. This grave was situated near the poplar-lined avenue, between poplar-trees and the house of the Brać brothers, on the road towards Petrovci. We were bringing corpses to this grave after the fall of Vukovar. The corpses were brought by truck. The grave is situated on the property of Stevo Kokot. His house is situated near a pond, on the exit from Vukovar. This grave is situated on the road from Vukovar towards Petrovci, from Novo Vašarište (new fair place) and the inn "Vesela Dama" 200 - 300 meters towards Petrovci. On the left side there is road made of black slag, this road is 500 meters long, then you have to follow the field-road for 150 meters and on the right side, towards the poplar-trees, is situated a massive grave. The JNA was bringing corpses to this place. M. and J. worked on this grave.
J.G. worked on the grave which was situated near the house of the Brać brothers. They worked there day and night. There were 8 of them who worked.

/...

I worked on individual graves. I recognised the corpse of Striber ..... , he lived in Proleterska street. He had been killed with a hunting rifle, he had a hole on his back, about the size of an egg. He was buried in the new cemetery. Pero Đojić was killed too. I took him out of a hole in his garden. He had been killed with a Kalashnikov, he was shot in the head. He was buried on the new cemetery.
On September 29, we were driven to Velepromet, the same people from the basement were with me. There were 9 of us. On September 15, me and other 9 people were working on Svetozara Markovića street. We cleaned the street for one day. Our chief was Marko Crevar, Vlado, Belopetrović, Simo and Milan Samardžić, Joja. Until the fall of Vukovar we buried corpses. Graves were covered without names on them. Until the fall of Vukovar we buried the corpses without anything. Patologists from Belgrade arrived in Vukovar a few days after the fall. There were 3 medical doctors, 4-5 assistents and 6 prisoners. One of the doctors was Major Zoran Stanković. His commander was Lieutenant-colonel Lazić and there was also a Jović from Borovo Selo, who was a representative of the Ministry of Health. The telephone number of dr. Stanković in Belgrade, in the JNA hospital (VMA), is 752-758. Dr. Stanković worked on the brick-yard. But every day they went back to Sombor, to a hotel. I worked with dr. Stanković, I made cofee but I slept at Velepromet, in the basement. My chief was Milan Cvetičanin - Cveto, tall, strong, he was a member of the White Eagles. He was the commander of the prisoners guards. He was in charge of offices of Major Žigić. These are some of the Chetniks who were at Velepromet: Krstić - from Sajmište, son of Sava, guard; Suzić, son of Dušan. I was at Velepromet until January 24, 1992. Then we were released. I went in Belgrade and after ten days I went to Croatia.

OTHER:
Rade Ivković and someŽivko were the main Chetniks who gave orders to us, prisoners. Sometimes we dug up 18 corpses in one day. Sometimes we used to drive up to 100 corpses to the brick-yard. We are sure that over 1000 corpses were driven to the brick-yard. In the Nova street I saw hangers. There I saw Mićo Čakić, Chetnik. Wife of Major Žigić, Dušanka, and his sister Željka were laughing while we removed the corpses of dr Tomislav's parents. Rade Iveković took us out. The corpses were driven to the New cemetery after the pathological exams.

Cuk, ex-officer of the JNA, commanded with artillery and tanks which destroyed Olajnica.

Borovo Naselje - near airport - there is mass grave. Juraj, Mato and Jozo went there.

Rade Ivković and some Živko had a list of graves where killed people were buried and then we went there and removed them. Rade Ivković went to Major Žigić and he gave him these lists. He was driving us with a 5 ton truck.

Zdravko ..... raped a Croat woman. He was taking her in the evening and bringing her back in the morning. It happened a few times.

By signing each page of the statement I confirm its authenticity. I gave the statement of my own free will and without coercion.

April 6, 1993

/...

D. I. M. H.
Division of Information and Research
Ministry of Health of the Republic of Croatia

TESTIMONY VU - 269

JOURNALIST: WHAT DID YOU DO DURING THE WAR IN VUKOVAR?

Me, my wife and my children were in Vukovar whole time. I was the member of the Croatian National Guard. I was a pork-butcher and I was slaughtering animals of the people who were in shelters and who could not take care about these animals. We provided with food all the shelters and the Vukovar hospital. Our job was very hard because we had to work while mortar shells were falling around.

IN WHICH PLACE STARTED THE WAR IN VUKOVAR?

Up there, near the barracks. Our people could conquer the barracks but they were not allowed to do this. Petrova Gora and Sajmište were Chetnik bases. The whole thing started in Negoslavci.
When I was captured, I had uniform which was soiled by blood of animals I had slaughtered. I could change my clothes but I was so confused that I did not remember to do this. I was in a basement when JNA soldiers arrived and chased us out. They wore JNA uniforms and they all had four "C". Some of them had cockades. They blocked the Radić street, put us into trucks and drove us to the Velepromet. There were many people and there was not enough trucks. I do not know what time it was.... I was very afraid and I was lost.

WHAT HAPPENED AT VELEPROMET UPON YOUR ARRIVAL?

Kekan from Vukovar, plumber, brought me into a room. There were ten of us but I was so afraid that I did not remember anyone of these people. When they took us out from there I saw a Serb, Duško Borovac who was godfather of my friend Zoran Stanković. You know, each one looked for someone to save himself. I stood up and shouted :"Dule, where is your godfather?" I thought that he would help me. He only looked at me and told me to stand up and to proceed towards the gate. They ordered me: "Bent your head, put your hands on your back!" and they brought me into a room - 100 m2. There were 260 of us in this room. At the entrance they started to beat me because they saw my bloody trousers. They shouted: "There is one Ustasha, let us kill him!" There was also Ljubica Stanković, wife of Mirko Stanković, war reporter. He worked for Chetniks. He left from Vukovar and she stayed. She said: "Do not kill ..... (she used to call me so), he was butcher. That is the reason why his trousers are bloody."
I was distributing the food to all the shelters and she saw me. Serbs were treated as all others. So, she saved me. No, she did not save me, she only postponed all. Then they started to beat me. They pushed me into a room where there were 250 men - almost all of them were from shelters. I did not know where were children and women.
Chetniks were entering and looking for some men with whom they were angry and they wanted revenge. A Chetnik entered and started to beat the man who worked at the school. He said: "You killed my brother, ... you mother!" He did not do that. In the evening they told that half of us should move to another room. I prayed God to leave me there. I stayed. They were coming and taking the people all night long. We could hear machine-gun firing all the night. They were killing

/...

the people probably. I know that Beli, Čombeta was taken away. Ravlić Ivan was beaten by some his neighbour Savo and then he was taken away.
The following morning Cvetičanin (Serb, travelling salesman was before) and Vlado Bekić (he worked at the post office and at the court) arrived. They called by name Pribudić, Radić and Štefanovski. This Štefanovski was taken away during the night. Two of us were brought to another part of the prison where were situated women and children. They sent us there because Ljubica said that we had not killed anybody. We remained there on November 23 and 24, 1991.

WHAT DID YOU DO AND WHAT DID YOU SEE IN THIS WOMEN PRISON?

We were waiting for the questioning by Major Žigić. We were the only men among women. There were situated wives of Croatian extremists. There were wives and children of Molnar brothers; Fanika, Cigos wife - he was guardsman and he was killed during the war. He was captured by Chetniks, they crucified him on the wagon. Then some G. was there. She was pregnant and they raped her. I saw taking her away. She screamed. I heard that she gave birth to a child in Zagreb few months ago. There were also my neighbour, she worked at school and her daughter. There were about 15 women.

WHAT HAPPENED TO THESE WOMEN DURING YOUR STAY IN THIS PART OF THE CAMP?

I saw taking them to one room. They were screaming. They were raped by Chetniks. Yes, Chetniks were raping them. There was also wife of J., our man. She was Serbian. They harshly beat and raped her. Chetnik called Topola - tall more than 2 m, fat, with beard arrived and crowed that he had raped this woman G. He told it in front of the regular army. I saw when he took her away and when he brought her back, she was crying.

WHAT HAPPENED LATER TO THESE WOMEN?

The majority of them were discharged. Ivica Salomon, football player, was brought later. He sat down. He trembled. At about 10 p.m. Miki Turukalo entered and started to beat him. This Miki was coming at our shelter and we were giving food to him. He know all of us and he could know who was the member of the Croatian National Guard. I thought that he was one of us because he was coming for food to us, but .... He arrived and kicked me. I stood up and he told me: "You ....., you are here. I was only watching him because I could not believe that he was among them. He said: "Why are you bloody?" I replied: "I did not kill anybody. I am pork-butcher. I was slaughtering cattle." "You said "cattle". We are cattle for you? he said and hit me with boots over my head and abdomen.
Then he kicked a man who was near me. It was Ljubo Pribudić, 55 years of age. Miki told him: "There you are! Where are you snaipers? You were the bigger snaiperist..." Chetniks who were standing at the door, jumped and started to hit him. They brought him into one room from which we heard screams and hits whole the time. I had impression that Ljubo was sitting and they were pricking him with knife. He screamed: "Don't prick me, please, don't! Don't do it any more! My hands, oh my hands!" They threw him again into that prison and I did not anything about him any more.

YOU REMAINED IN THIS WOMAN PRISON?

I was still waiting there. You know - I was waiting and I didn't do anything. I could not sleep, I was waiting for the moment when they would arrive and take me to the questioning. Then, Drko arrived. I knew him. He entered the room and

asked me where had I been. I answered: "Nowhere. I am butcher and I did not touch anybody."
None of us was guilty - they attacked us and we were defending ourselves. Drko left. Then Kesega arrived. He was son of Stanković Zoran who was reporter. I mentioned him already. We grown up together. He was watching at me and said: "Listen ....., who wanted all this?"
"I don't know", I said, "I didn't want it." Then Kesega left.

The following day Micko, football player, arrived and took away Salomon. I stayed alone again. Then Drko arrived with machine-gun and took me out and then to the barracks. He ordered me to change my clothes. They gave me JNA uniform and I wore it. Then they took me to the A. Cesarca street, number 120A where the Civilian defense was located. I did all the jobs. There was not many Croats there. I came and I had to do all. I cleaned streets, fixed roofs, buried dead people at the Bulgarian cemetery.

WHO WERE YOU BURRING?

I don't know. They were driving them from the hospital. They all were in plastic sac. Dead bodies were driven like split logs. Excavator dogged up trench - 2 m deep and 100 m long - and they were putting these bodies into this trench.

DID YOU NOTICE WHETHER THESE CORPSES WERE OLD OR THERE WERE CORPSES OF RECENTLY KILLED PEOPLE?

No, no. These people had been killed recently. The corpses were not old.

IN WHAT CONDITION WERE THE CORPSES?

I could not see much. We were not allowed to go there and to watch. But I managed to see some things....There were many.... I saw a man who was cut... down there... I thought that he was a woman. They cut him all ... down there.

WHAT WAS WRITTEN DOWN ON THESE SACS?

It was written NOV or POV.... I do not remember any more...

WAS IT IN LATIN OR CYRILLIC SCRIPT?

In Latin.

WHAT ELSE DID YOU DO AT THE CEMETERY?

Excavator was covering up an we were making graves.

WhETHER THERE WERE THE CORPSES OF CHILDREN AMONG THESE DEAD BODIES?

I saw few little corpses, 7-8 years old. Each sac had little transparent plastic window and I wanted to see what had happened to them .... but I could saw only hair. I think that all of them had been found in the hospital.

HOW LONG WERE YOU WORKING AT THE CEMETERY?

For three days.

HOW MANY PEOPLE WERE BURIED DURING THIS TIME?

/...

While I was there, excavators dug up 7 trenches. In each trench there were 100 or 120 people.

IT MEANS THAT 700 TO 840 PERSONS WERE BURIED THERE?

Only during these 3 days, but they kept bringing corpses. There are much more buried persons.

WHAT HAPPENED TO YOU LATER?

I was transferred to the house of the Red Cross. I worked with meat there. It happened on December 10. One day when I was out somewhere, two man with marks of "SAO Kraina" arrived to the Red Cross and they asked for .... Nikola Mišćević did not hear them well, I suppose, and he stood forth. They took him away and I did not hear anything about him. I heard later that he had been shot. He was Serbian. When I heard it I thought: "My God, he was Serbian and look what did they do to him. What will happen with me?" I could not stand any more and I went to Military police and I asked whether they had looked for me. They told me that they hadn't. The same thing happened with civilian police. I could not sleep, I was waiting when they would come to take me away. These people who were taking away the people who they did not like, were from Vukovar. They were killing and torturing them. Nikola (Gidža) and Slobo Katić from Zemun took away this Nikola.
It was about December 15 or 16 when Bracan, Chetnik, arrived and asked me whether I could come to slaughter his porks. I said "Yes". I would do everything to save my head. At his house I found Siniša Lančužanin, Živko and his brother-in-law who died in car-crash. When we almost finished with everything, Gidža and Slobodan Katić arrived. They wore camouflage uniforms and marks of the SAO Krajina. They entered the house and I asked them whether they had looked for me before. One of them said "Yes". They did not come to Bracan because of me. They came to visit Braco. They had fought together. They told me to come the following morning at Velepromet and to look for Gidžo. Then they all together left the house and kept talking and laughing in the yard. Later I asked Bracan why had I go to Velepromet. He answered: "You are going to be shot." I started to cry and said: "Why me? I was butcher. I did not kill anybody. I did not see anything. Why me?" He: "I can not do anything but maybe I can help you to escape." I told him that I don't want to escape. I was afraid that they wanted to frame me. I returned in the room where Siniša and Živko were doing something with meet. They already knew that I was going to be shot. I was crying and I said: "I am going to be shot." One of them said: "You fool, who is going to shot you?" Then Bracan entered and said: "Tell him the truth. Don't make fool of him." Then he told me: "You are going to sleep here and tomorrow morning, I will go with you to Velepromet." The following day we came at Velepromet but Gidžo wasn't there. I went to Major Žigić who worked at the Police. He was from Vukovar and he was friend of my mother-in-law. I told him: "They want to kill me." He: "Who wants to kill you, don't be stupid." I went out and there I run against my wife. I was confused - what did she do there, where were my children. I din't see them from November 18. She told me later that she was in Despotovo in order to be closer to me. She needed permission to enter Vukovar. Then my wife and me went looking for some his cousin. We didn't find him and one man told us to go to Captain Ivica (Croat but he was with Chetniks). So, we arrived to his house and there we found Gidža, the man who wanted to kill me. Some other Croat, Nino Ugljik, was with them. I told to the Captain Ivica:" Camarade Ivica, I came here because these two men had been looking for me." He asked me: "Where have you been?"

At the shelter of the school.

/...

- What did you do?
- I am butcher.
- What kind of weapons did you have?
- I didn't have any kind of weapon.
- Were there some soldiers?
- No, only a guard with hunting gun.
- And Menges, what did he do?
I saw that I couldn't lie so I told:
- He was responsible for all the shelters.
- Who else was coming at the shelter?
- I don't know but I know that one group from Đakovo or Zagreb arrived. They were very angry with Tuđman because they hopped that they would get weapons in Vukovar. They didn't have anything. Almost all of them died on the first front line.
- Who were these people? Did they had black shirts of were they Ustashe
- I don't know.
I didn't know anything and it was positive. They beat me and if I knew something I would tell them all.
- How many people were on the strongholds?
- I don't know.
- 10, 20?
- I don't know.
- You have to know!
- But I don't....
- No problems, he said, nobody wants to kill you.

Then we left from there. My wife had to leave Vukovar before the night fall. She went to Despotovo, near Bačka Palanka. I told her to take passports and money and to go with plane to my sister in Germany. I told her that I would try to escape across Bosnia. My wife did it and she called my sister who thought that I was dead and she did not want to accept my wife because she was Serbian. So they remained in Despotovo until April. Then they were accused that they were Ustashe and my wife, children and her parents came in Vukovar. My wife is Serbian but I would not change her for 10 Croatians. Our apartment in Vukovar was destroyed and plundered, so they entered another one which belonged to some Croat. I went again to the Red Cross. On December 21, 1991, a man arrived and told me: "They got some new data about you, ... They will call you for questioning." I did not which data and I could not sleep any more. As it was Friday, I thought that they would forget it until Monday. And if they would not, they would kill me. On Sunday, at 8 a.m. two men arrived, pointed their pistols on me and said: "Stand up Ustasha and don't move! We will kill you like a rabbit." They took me at Velepromet, in some room. One of them said: "That's him!". He put me handcuffs and tied me on bed. Then they started to kicking, punching me. They never told me why. After that I was brought into a prison. Then N. V. was brought, too. He was Serbian. I told him to take me out from there. He said: "I can't do it, Can't you see that I'm in prison." I did not understand anything more. He was Serbian and he was in prison.

HOW MANY SERBS WERE IN PRISON?

Well, a few but not much. Marko Končar was brought in. He was Serbian too.

WHY DID THEY IMPRISONED THESE TWO SERBIANS?

I don't know but I think that it was because they had refused to fight with Chetniks. Then Gidža came and beat us all night long. The following morning, Gidža and Slobodan put us into a car and drove us towards Bogdanovci. After 2

km we turned towards Lijeva Supoderica and we stopped near the corn-fields. When we arrived there I saw a number of Chetniks, Šešelj's Chetniks. They were dirty, bearded, black.... There were 40, 50 of them. They thought that we were hiding all the time and that we were captured on that day. Somebody said: "There are Ustashe!" They all gathered to see Ustashe. They made a cordon and started to beat and maltreat us. Each Chetnik was specialist for some kind of torture and they were telling us: "Look at his beautiful eyes, I will take his eyes!, or "I will cut his ears!" and so on .... They threw us later into the basement and they ordered us to clean it. We were bringing out old furniture and N. stayed down there. While we were doing this, Chetnik were standing along the stairways and beating us. I was looking for somebody from Vukovar who could help me. But when I asked someone whether he was from Vukovar, he hit me with the fist. I thought that they would kill us. Later, N. and Končar were taken away for questioning and I was brought into the bathroom. I had to clean it. This bathroom was full of feces. I had to clean it with my hands. There was no water. I was sure that they would kill us after thetorture. One of them arrived and said me that I had to clean it completely. When I told him there was no water, he kicked me to the head. Then he said me to leave the bathroom and that my friend would continue the cleansing. Marko and N. shouted, screamed... Then Marko entered. He was covered with blood. I was ordered to wash the hands and then taken away. Marko remained in the bathroom. He had to eat it. I was brought into some room. There were Gidža, Nikola, Slobodan Katić, Major Slobo, Đani Đanković (he slaughtered people) Mićo Čučković, Kobac who had a cafe in Zemun and Kina from Mitrovica (he look like Chinese).

They started to ask me how many Serbs I had slaughtered. I kept telling them that I had not kill anybody. Then they beat and tortured me. Đani took fire-iron and put it into a fire. Then he beat me with it over my back, head, hands. They maltreated us from 10 p.m. to 4 a.m.. I could not see nothing any more due to pain I felt. They asked me about weapons. I told them that the weapons had been thrown into the water-well of Andrija Biro, in the Radnička 66. I knew that these weapons were already taken from this water-well. When I told them about it they let me go but they told me that I would go there and take out the weapons from the water-well. Then they brought me into the basement again. Guards came into the basement and started to ask us how many Serbs had we slaughtered. They beat me over my genitals. I thought that I would die of pain. Then they asked me again about the water-well. As it hurted me a lot, I started to mix basement and water-well and it was the new reason for beating. Then they ordered N. to hit me. His head was covered with blood and bruises. We had to hit each other. Then Sale from Zaječar arrived. He was fat, 100 kg, 2 m high. My God, when he started to beat us..... Then some Kes from Sombor arrived and he brought tin wire. We were striped to the skin, tied our genitals and we had to walk around the room. If the man who was behind you stopped for a while, wire lacerated you. It hurted a lot. Then we had to face the wall. We were naked. We stood 10 cm far from the wall. Then a Chetnik arrived and hit us and ordered us to stand closer to wall. Then another one came and ordered us to stand far from the wall..... Then I had to make a sign of cross like Serbs did. I did it because I could not stand any more this torture. But, I did it wrong and they beat me again. I had to sing Croatian anthem and Serbian songs. I didn't know singing Serbian song and they beat me again. We had to run between two walls and to shout: "Serbia will be to Tokyo!" The basement was small and we had to run. We managed to shout it only two times. They ordered us to shout it 4 times but it was impossible.... Končar was weak, he had 50 kg. He fell down. Mile Žunič, Chetnik from Rijeka - he worked in Brodogradilište, jumped over him and broke everything inside him.

They told me that I was good and that they would not beat me any more. They also told me that tomorrow morning I would go into the water-well to take out weapons. If there would not be weapons, they were going to kill me with the bomb. I thought that it would be great luck if they kill me with a bomb.

/...

Končar remained on the floor. It was Christmas Eve and he told me: "....., I will die before New Year," I told him that he would not. They took him to the doctor and when he was back, he told us that everything inside him was broken. They didn't want to cure him. He was Ustasha for them. The following morning I went cleaning the yard, N. was in the kitchen and Končar remained in the basement because he couldn't stand up. I returned in the basement because I needed a brush. A guard who was watching me, escorted me. When we entered there, Marko was standing, he rested against the wall. I thought that he was sleeping. When I approached him, I saw that he had hanged himself. They put him into the bed where we were sleeping and we had to sleep with him for 4, 5 nights.
There was also Milan Lančužanin, called "Kameni".

LANČUŽANIN, IT IS FAMOUS CHETNIK FAMILY....

I knew him but we were not friends. His father Kamenko was Chetnik too. Milan was real Chetnik duke. In his house Chetnik's headquarters was locate. Šešelj was coming in this house. Kameni took me into his house and I was working there. He ordered them to leave me alone. They kept beating me but I was afraid to tell him because Gidža would have kill me. He beat me over my abdomen, genitals. He didn't want to beat me over my face so Kameni didn't notice anything. In Kameni's house I did all the jobs and I cursed Croatia. I did it in order to leave me alone.

WHAT DID YOU TELL ABOUT CROATIA?

I told: " ..... Croatia! I will never live in Croatia." I had to tell all these things. So they stopped maltreating me.
Later, during February, all Chetniks left. I didn't know where. People from Vukovar remained only. Radomir Žunić from Rijeka remained too. He spent 7 years in the Goli Otok prison. He remained and kept maltreat me. Kameni spent almost all the time in Belgrade. He went to visit Šešelj. My wife and children could visit me but I could not leave this house. Nikola was allowed to leave but I had to stay. The only thing that was important to me was to stay alive.

WHAT HAPPENED WITH YOU CHILDREN DURING THIS TIME?

Both of my children were in Vukovar all the time. They caught bronchitis due to basement and bad food. I was crying all the time because of them - ....., saw it. He is 22 or 23 years old.
I asked him whether he would drive my wife and children to the Hungarian board in order to go to Germany. He asked his father and he allowed it. So, we moved towards the border.

WHEN ALL THIS HAPPENED?

On June 6, 1992.

THE THEY WHEN YOU WERE SAT FREE?

Yes, but I was not sat free, I escaped from there.

HOW?

We arrived on the border with Hungary and there were many buses which were waiting to enter Yugoslavia. I took my little son and I pretended that I was playing with him. So, step by step, I arrived in Hungary. My wife and other child remained still with ..... and I didn't know what to do. I gave the child to some unknown woman, Hungarian. When my wife saw it, she thought that I was mad,

/...

she took a bag and other child and started to walk towards me. We were in Hungary and ..... was standing and watching us. My wife said that he told her when she was leaving: "Good luck to all of you!" He had tears in his eyes. He did it because he thought that we would go to Germany, to my sister. If he knew that I was going to Croatia, he would open fire on me. Then we reached Croatia, across Hungary. We arrived in Zagreb.

I WOULD ASK YOU SOME MORE QUESTIONS ABOUT VUKOVAR. YOU WERE BUTCHER, DO YOU KNOW SOMEBODY NAMED CRK?

Oh yes, Karlo Crk was my boss and he was killed by Chetniks. Milan Bulić, butcher, killed him in the corn-fields. Bulić was responsible for Borovo Selo. He questioned people and beat them with iron stick.

DO YOU KNOW ZLATKO MARTINOVIĆ?

No, I don't.

LOOK AT THIS PHOTO .... DO YOU KNOW HIM?

This....he was car mechanic. He worked in Vukovar. He repaired cars. He had to work by Lančužan. He had, as I did. He repaired this red "Audi" by whom ..... drove us to the Hungarian border.

WHAT DO YOU KNOW ABOUT NAME IVANKA ATARAC?

Nothing.

AND IVANKA SAVIĆ?

She is Serbian. She was prostitute. She had two daughters who were same as she was. One Chetnik, Tošo, fell in love with her and he was angry when she was chased out from Vukovar. Her house was full of Šešelj's photos and Serbian flags. I heard that Chetniks chased her because they found out that she had collaborate with Croatian National Guard. She was like that, she was always doing the best for her.

HOW OLD IS THIS WOMAN?

About 65 years.

FEMME FATAL, WHAT ELSE DO YOU KNOW ABOUT HER?

Nothing, I do not nothing more about her.

D.I.M.H.
Division of Information and Research
Ministry of Health of the Republic of Croatia

TESTIMONY VU - VP - 603

I arrived in Olajnica on August 14, 1991, when the JNA left their the barracks. My daughter and husband accompanied me to the Territorial Defence headquarters and there I asked Mr Merčep how I could help. He put me in charge of shelters in Olajnica. For some time I procured medicines and food (while there still was food in shops and warehouses) and distributed it to the people. Then Tomislav Pap put me in charge of the food storehouse, I had to control the distribution, each person received equal portions. A few men and women helped me: Jelić Drago and his wife Marija, baker Nikola baked bread but in the end he stayed with Chetniks. Ana Molnar, Marija Mala were with me. Some women cooked while there still was water and food. The water was brought ba a water truck driven by K.Z. and two other men.
Later I supplied shelters with water. Kačić Igor (15 years old) and his sister Silvija, Štimac Danijela and some other children helped me. When the more fierce attacks began I did not allow them to help me. My daughter and husband (Violeta and Đuro) were in the strongholds. I knew what was happening in Vukovar.
On October 10, 1991 my husband was seriously wounded by a grenade. He spent one night in the hospital and the following day I spoke to dr. Bosanac and dr. Njavro. Dr Bosanac told me that I could not take my husband away from the hospital and to take care of him in the shelter. I knew that there were many Chetniks in the hospital. Then dr. Njavro advised me to take him to the shelter if I had adequate place for him.
When I wanted to take Zdravko Baketa and the guardsman named Krešo from the hospital, I asked for sweat-suits for them because their uniforms were torn and the sweat-suits were for wounded patients, dr Bosanac told me that she could not give the sweat-suit to each man. While our boys were smoking leaves of tea, dr. Bosanac gave cigarettes to Serbs.
On November 17, at 5 a.m., my daughter Violeta arrived, she was covered with blood and I thought that she was wounded. She took me out and told me: "If you have any suspicious documents or a member card of the HDZ - burn it. Because there is nothing left of Vukovar." Tomo Pap arrived too and he told me to go immediately to the Territorial Defence. There I was told that the Chetniks were close to the port and that our boys would go break out. As I was a woman they thought that I would not be suspicious and the Chetniks would not notice me, so I had to come back to the shelter and help there. On November 18, 1991 I drove all the children, women and wounded patients who could not walk to the hospital because all the civilians would be evacuated. When we arrived to the hospital, dr. Bosanac told me that I was not allowed to do that and that I should let the people go wherever they wanted. That day the Chetniks entered the hospital and I knew that it would not finish well because dr Bosanac was walking with them through the hospital and kept telling us that everything would be all right. She gave many white lab coats to our people, she told that they would pass as hospital staff. These persons were marked with these lab coats and all of them, men and women, are not alive any more. These coats were new, no body had worn them until then.
On November 18, 1991, all the women and children were brought to Velepromet. They promised us that they would evacuate us during the night to wherever we wanted. In the meantime they told us that they did not have enough vehicles for us. We spent the night there.
On November 19, they ordered us to get out. We were waiting for vehicles but it was a trick because they gathered all the people there at Velepromet. Local Serbs accompanied us and separated us for questioning.. Pero Jovanović and Dragan Šuljik separated me from the group of women. They told me that I would meet my daughter and grandson soon. I was brought to the joiners work-shop at Velepromet. There I was maltreated, even tattooed. These people, together with Milovan Malbaša, Simo Samardžija, Milo Samardžija maltreated me.
On November 20, I was taken for questioning by Nenad Žigić, judge. I knew him before as inspector. He accused me in front of the Krajina court for genocide upon Serbian population. He said that I baked 50 Serbian children. They brought me a tray with a baked child, allegedy I did it. The members of the jury were: Colonel Boro Vojnović, Mirko Vojnović called Čapalo, Predrag Petrinjac, my ex-neighbour and Milan Bulić called Bulida. I was sentenced to 15 years in jail. They brought me back into the room where I was before. Three days after my arrest they asked me about my husband. I said that I did not know where he was. Zoran Stanković called Kesega, his sister Inga Stanković

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(lieutenant), Dušanka Žigić and Svetlana Malbaša accompanied me to the rail-way an to the brick yard to look for my husband among the corpses. At the brick-yard, in a hole, there were many corpses. I saw gallows and two women and a man were hanging. When I saw it they brought me back to the room and told me: "It is a question whether you will you ever find the bones of your husband". On the fourth day, Boro Latinović, Mirko Vojnović called Čapalo, Radivoje Jakovljević called Frižider, Milan Bulić called Bulida arrived again. Bulida had a pistol for killing cattle and he asked if there were some Ustasha women among us. Mika Ikać told that all of us were Ustasha. And I know that his wife and children are situated in Duga Uvala, in the Industrogradnja camping place. I was humiliated and maltreated every day. Mika Ikać and Predrag Petrusinjac forced me to watch as they killed Ustasha. They told me that I would finish in the same way because another trial was waiting for me. I was watching when Mika Ikać and Predrag Petrinjac (Peda) were beating Goran Kovačević till he fell on the ground due to the beating. Šušljik Dragan and Bulida sat on his back. Dragan held his hair and Bulida cut off his head and then put it on a stick. Then they brought a boy from Zagreb, I did not know his name - he was from Zagreb, a volunteer - and put him on a wood saw. Dragan Šušljik, Mika Ikić (?), Malbaša Milan and Milan Prša held him his legs and arms. In the meantime Goran Mungosa switched on the saw and Ratko Popović pushed the body and they cut him in two. Zora Esesi, Svetlana Malbaša, Stanko and Aleksa Šušljik were witnesses to this massacre. A Chetnik woman - Dušanka Okovacki - told that she would cut finger after finger, ear after ear and that she would make jelly of the Ustasha body. Then I was brought back to the room and Đorđe Marić arrived and accused me of carrying a placard that said "ALL SERBS SHOULD BE HUNG ON WILLOW TREES" around Vukovar during the elections. And Đoko Krstić confirmed that. The sixth day I was transferred to another room and there I found my daughter Violeta without her child. I asked her where her child was and she did not know it. In the evening they took her away for questioning, the door was open so it could bee seen how they were doing it. Predrag Petrinjac and some Captain Dragan from Belgrade did it. I heard it later. She was beaten up and the brought back to the room. I was hiding her behind my back later. I preferred to be killed instead of my child. On the seventh day in the morning they took away everything I had, saying that I would not need anything anymore.

Some Chetnik women - Parcel, Jordan Vukosavljević, Dušanka Žigić - told me that I had been in their houses and that I had stolen all their German Marks and gold. They took my necklace, wrist-watch, 2000 German Marks and 40.000 old dinars. On the seventh day Martin Sajtović and his son Braco (he was completely mad, he was cured of alcoholism many times) were beaten and then killed. They were taken out by: Aladin Suad, Predrag Petrinjac, Milan Prša, Ratko Popović, Đorđe Bogojević, Goran Mungosa and Vračarić brothers. They beat them, jumped and walked over them and killed them. As they were not satisfied with this, they took out a young man called Zdraviša. They immediately started to cut him with knives and put salt on his wounds. It was performed by Gojko Miličević, Đorđe Bogojević, Miki Ikač, Drago Šušljik and some reservists from Belgrade whose name I ignored.

Zdraviša died due to the wounds and his brother who was in the same room with me became mad (he is in Zagreb). During the night it was raining. A man in a JNA uniform opened the door and asked what the women and children were doing there. Then they took us out and transferred to the room where I had been before. Regular military police watched over us in this room. Then I got some water for the first time, just to wet my tongue. Late in the night they brought some captured boys, they were from Zagreb. They were beaten, maltreated and one of them died due to beatings. When the Military police saw what the Chetniks were doing, one of the military policemen threw a gun and started to fight with four Chetniks and told them to leave the room. In the meantime, obe of the boys was loaded into a car. They wanted to drive him to the ill-famed camp in Negoslavci and try him immediately. During the same night, when there was no light, a military policeman arrived and told us to get out , as quietly as possible, and to enter the bus which was situated near the door. We entered the bus, we did not know where we were going. Suddenly I saw a light. When we got out from the bus, I saw that we were in the Vukovar barracks. There were regular soldiers and they immediately gave us food and water. I was asking only for water, I told them that I was thirsty. When they heard that I did not eat anything for a long time, he did not allow me to drink much water. There, in the barracks, I stayed for 5 days. We were not maltreated there, we had three meals and cigarettes. That military policeman promised that he would not leave Vukovar while we were there. It was so. On the fifth day he arrived and told us to pack our things, although I had nothing to pack. We were loaded onto military trucks and driven to Sremska Mitrovica. It happened on January 2, 1991. He told us: "You will get out from here, from Vukovar you would have never gotten out. We were brought to some room where we were searched. I told them that they could search only my soul. One police woman, named Milica (or Zdenka or Gordana) told me that maybe I would not need

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even my soul because I had chosen the wrong side. She said: "I left my Gorica and I came to defend my Serbian country."
After that I was situated in the room No. 14 where I found many women and dr. Bosanac. But she was taken out every morning and brought back in the evening - allegedly she wrote statements about the things that had happened in Vukovar.
She asked me for the names of the people who maltreated me in Vukovar, for the Geneva Convention. I did not gave it to her. We were registered by the Geneva Red Cross . We were exchanged on March 27, 1992 in Bosanski Šamac, on the bridge. We had to walk for 2 km. Later I arrived to Zagreb.

By signing each page of the statement I confirm the authenticity of the above written.

In Zagreb, March 25, 1993

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D. I. M. H.
Division of Information and Research
Ministry of Health of the Republic of Croatia

TESTIMONY LOV - 628

The JNA attack on Lovas began at 07:30, on 10 October, 1991. First they fired about 10 grenades from their positions in the graveyard. LATAS MILAN was killed and VIDIĆ MARIJA was wounded during this attack. White Eagle (Šešelje's units) Chetniks began to arrive form the direction of Opatovca. The first victim, of the White Eagles, on the road from Lovas to Opatovca was SABLJAK TOMO - TONA (nickname ROĐA). He was found dead beside his car. The Chetniks arrived in the village from the direction of Opatovca, and there was about 80 of them, I heard this from a Chetnik. One of the Chetniks, who had an army uniform, said that the army sent a small number of them into the village, as if they did not know how many people there was in the village. Before the attack the JNA had come and ordered us to surrender all our weapons, so the village was unarmed and offered no resistance. Once they entered the village the Chetniks began the arrests and killing of civilians. The JNA surrounded the village with tanks, so that no one could escape and the Chetniks could then capture them. During the first two days of occuption, that is the 10th and 11th of October, 199, 24 civilians from the village were killed :

1. GRGIĆ MIRKO - killed in DANIJEL BADANJAK's yard on 10 October, 1991
2. BADANJAK DANIJEL - killed in his yard on 10 October, 1991
3. BADANJAK CECILIJA - killed in DANIJEL BADANJAK's yard on 10 October, 1991
4. KRIZMARIĆ VID - killed in his house
5. JOVANOVIĆ ANTUN - killed in his yard
6. JOVANOVIĆ ANKA - killed in her yard
7. POLIĆ ALOJZIJE - born 1951 - killed in his yard
8. ADAMOVIĆ MATO (Brico) - from Tovarnik - killed in front of IVAN MARIĆ's house
9. PAVLIČEVIĆ KATA - killed crossing the street at 2 Vladimir Nazor
10. POLJAK ĐUKA - taken from his house and killed in ĐUKE FILIĆ's yard, 11 Vladimir Nazor
11. KESER MATO - taken from his house and killed in ĐUKE FILIĆ's yard, 11 Vladimir Nazor
12. MAĐAREVIĆ STJEPAN - killed in ANTE NIKIĆ's yard, 17 Vladimir Nazor
13. POLJAK JOSIP - younger - killed in his own house, on Bežanija street
14. RENDULIĆ PETAR - in MIĆE TEPAVAC's attic
15. OSTRUN IVAN - killed at MUMI cafe
16. KRALJEVIĆ JOSIP - on street at ANDRIJA MARTINOVIĆ's house
17. ĐAKOVIĆ PAVO - killed in his house
18. PEJIĆ DRAGUTIN - killed behind JOSIP JOVANOVIĆ's house
19. BOŽIĆ MIJO - killed behind JOSIP JOVANOVIĆ's house
20. PEIĆ STJEPAN - killed in his house
21. ANTOLOVIĆ ŽIVKO - killed by sniper in front of STJEPAN SABLJAK's house
22. LEMUNOVIĆ ANICA - killed in the basement of his house
23. JONAK RUDOLF - found dead in front of MILET JOVANOVIĆ's house, his hands were bound by a wire cable. He was buried in the graveyard near the Paje Pavolević street entrance, in the VUKASA family vault
24. RENDULIĆ JOSIP (Joja) - killed in his yard, in shed
25. Unknown man, I found him outside the village at ĐUKE FILIĆ's orchard. He was put in a bag, so I could not recognize him

A group of 15-20 White Eagle (Šešelj's units) Chetniks came into my yard at 07:30 on 10 October, 1991. Among them were two men, TEPAVAC ZORAN (Serb) and ZORAJA SLOBODAN (Serb from Lovas), they were in JNA uniforms with civilian jackets and M-48 military issue guns, TEPAVAC ZORAN was in a complete JNA uniform.

When then came to my house they began firing at the house with automatic rifles and started yelling "Come out Ustasha". I went outside and they sent me to get my brother E.F and V.B. from the same street, Vladimir Nazor street. I had to call to them to come out of their houses. When they came out, we were forced into the co-operative's yard. My wife, mother and neighbour I.M stayed at my house. My son M.F., age 16, was with me.

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The Chetniks went through the entire village and killed some people immediately, others were brought to the co-operative's yard. This yard was used as some sort of collection center. There must have been over 100 women, children and elderly people there. There they began the questionings and beatings. The women and children were allowed to return home the same day, October 10, 1991, at about 15:00, but the men were held back. After that they began to select who would be released, about 30 people were held for two days and nights, and from those 30, 20 were held in a camp until October 18, 1991, and that night they were taken out and killed.
I was released on October 10, 1991 at 17:00, and on October 11, 1991 at 08:00 I received a telephone call by BRAJKOVIĆ ŽELJKO, who said that DEVETAK LJUBAN ordered that I report to the police station, they wanted me to be the president of the local government, it was only a trick, before me that day came SOMBORAC VLADO (Croat) who became the president of the local government.
The next day, October 12, 1991, DEVETAK LJUBAN sent a courier, SELEBA TOMO (Croat), for me and I was told to go on watch. I refused to go on watch, with the reason that I was scared. That night I was kept in the co-operative's kitchen among the Chetniks. All the Chetniks were not from the area they were from Valjeva and Belgrade, I did not know any of them. I was the only Croat amonst them. They swore at my Croatian, Ustasha mother and talked on how they will kill everyone.
On the morning of October 13, 19911 was called by DEVČIĆ MIĆO (half Croat and half Serb from Lovas), who said that I had to come at 10:00 to take a uniform and weapons, I told him that I could not take a gun against the people with whom I had lived for 40 years. He asked if I knew that there was a war occuring and that my people would kill me. I replied that whoever in the village thought that I was guilty could kill me, and then I began to cry. He then said that I could go home and said that he would talk to DEVETAK LJUBAN. After that no one called me to put on a uniform, but they did call on October 14, 1991 for me to carry the dead, with a tractor and trailer.
When they released me from the camp of October 10, 1991, VORKAPIĆ MILAN placed a white armband on my left upper arm, these armbands were put on every Croatians and every Croatian house white rags were put on the entrances or doors. We were required to wear these armbands until November 1, 1991, and the rags remained on the houses until New Years 1992. Me and my son had to report at the local government offices every morning where we received our daily forced labour schedule. We worked from 07:00 to 17:00, when the curfew began.
On October 14, 1991 I was ordered to drive the dead from the village to the graveyard. A man, Š.P (Croat), was assigned to identify the dead, there were 5-6 Croatian prisoners who were assigned the job of loading the corpses onto the trailer. Among them were : B.F., J.R, J.B, POLJAK FLORIJAN, Đ.R.
On October 15, 199, 9 people were killed. All the dead were civilians and they were all shot. We were always watched over by 6 Chetniks with weapons. We took them to the Catholic community grave. A canal 25 meters long, 80-100 cm. wide and 2 meters deep was dug by a military excavator, on the opposite side was a shorter canal,10-12 meters long, to which I never brought the dead.
The first day we put into bags PEJIĆ DRAGUTIN, BOŽIĆ MIJO, JONAK RUDOLF, RENDULIĆ JOSIP and I think ANTOLOVIĆ ŽIVKO, the others were covered with blankets, sheets or table cloths.
LATAS MILAN was buried in his garden at his house, on hill on Vladimir Nazor street. All the others were buried in the canal. The corpses were packed into the canal by hand, when one row was full the corpses were covered with dirt and new row was started.
On October 17, 1991 they began banging with drums to inform us that all men between 20 and 50 years of age where to report at 16:00, it was concerning our work. It was a trick, because waiting for us was the so-called army of "DUŠAN the GREAT" (Chetniks), who surrounded us at the co-operative in the center of the village. At 17:00 they ordered that we enter the co-operative's yard one by one, where they searched us and beat us, some were beat in the head. They had placed benches in three rows here, and they threatened that we all should be killed, that it supposedly was us who set fire to the "Borovo" plant, but this was done by the same Chetniks and that we would spend the entire night sitting on the benches and if anybody moved they would be killed. In front of us they placed a machine gun and six other guns, aimed at us. The men in front us us wore camoflage uniforms, some had cocades, and some had bandanas. After half an hour, DEVETAK LJUBAN arrived and said that everyone who had worked on the waterworks or the slaughtering of the pigs, in other words the people on work details, to leave. Twelve (12) people then left, but before they left he said that I should also leave. He took us to the house of MIRKO MILIĆ where we were to spend the night, he put SEDLAR RADE (Serb) to watch over us. The next morning, October 17, 1991 he said that we could not go home and that we had to go to our jobs. The people who remained in the camp at the co-opreative were beaten the entire night, they were pricked with knives, on October 18, 1991 at 10:00 they took them to a mine field they had put in a clover field on the entrance to the village, before the "Borovo" plant, towards the main road for Jelaš and the road that leads to Tovarnik-Vukovar. I think it was public land, beside the land of J.P. On the way to the minefield they shot BODANAC BOSKA, at the bridge at Dol. I did not go to the minefield , but I talked to the survivors amongst which was my brother, and they said that they had to hold hands and

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walk into the minefield. At the minefiled one Chetnik kicked KRALJEVIĆ IVAN in the back and he fell onto a mine, 5 people died in the explosion, and then the Chetniks began to fire with their automatic rifles and killed 14 others. There were 13 wounded and 15 had no injuries, because a JNA officer arrived and asked what they were doing with the civilians and told them to stop the shooting.

Amongst the killed were :
1. PALIJAN IVAN
2. HODAK MATO
3. ŠTRANGAREVIĆ SLAVKO
4. BADANJAK NIKOLA
5. SABLJAK MARKO (Perin)
6. SABLJAK IVAN
7. PANJIK ANTUN
8. PANJIK ZLATKO
9. TURKALJ JOSIP (Đurin)
10. VIDIĆ MARKO
11. SABLJAK TOMISLAV
12. KUZMIĆ SLAVKO
13. BOŽIĆ ZLATKO
14. MARKOVIĆ MARINKO
15. SOLAKOVIĆ DARKO
16. BADANJAK PETAR
17. SALAJ MIJO (Mihovil)
18. BALIĆ LIKA
19. KRALJEVIĆ IVAN

They commanded that all the living stand up. Those that were wounded were helped. All the wounded were put onto a truck, a civilian truck I think, and the truck went to Šid, from Šid the lightly wounded were taken to the Lovas clinic, and after 3 days they were taken to Sremska Mitrovica hospital, the others went directly to Mitrovica. Those that were not killed or wounded, had to put the corpses onto the truck. The corpses were kept on the truck for 2 days. After two days they were taken to the graveyard where the corpses were put onto my trailer and I took them to the common grave, where I brought the others before. There were not wrapped up or put into bags, instead they were put into the common grave at the Catholic graveyard.
The night of October 18, 1991, there were 19 civilians killed, they were imprisoned in the basement of the local government, there they were beat and tortured, I saw one of them them while he was still alive, KRIZMARIĆ ALOJZIJE, his pant legs were covered in blood, as if they were soaked in blood, he fell into a vase in the local government offices. They were taken from the camp and in one place were killed in groups of 3-4.
The following were killed that day :
1. DAMLJANOVIĆ MARKO (Bosanac) - one of four who were killed in IVAN MAĐAREVIĆ's garage
2. JOVANOVIĆ JOSIP - one of four who were killed in IVAN MAĐAREVIĆ's garage
3. PAVLIĆ DARKO - one of four who were killed in IVAN MAĐAREVIĆ's garage
4. PAVLIĆ ŽELJKO - one of four who were killed in IVAN MAĐAREVIĆ's garage
5. KRIZMANIĆ ĐUKA - killed in BOŽO LATAS's garage
6. KRIZMANIĆ ZORAN - killed in BOŽO LATAS's garage
7. PANŽA FRANJO - killed in BOŽO LATAS's garage
8. One unknown boy - killed in BOŽO LATAS's garage
9. BALIĆ MARIN - killed in VLADO DEVČIĆ's basement, Vl. Nazor street
10. BALIĆ KATICA - killed in VLADO DEVČIĆ's basement, Vl. Nazor street
11. VIDIĆ IVICA - killed in VLADO DEVČIĆ's basement, Vl. Nazor street
12. DEVČIĆ ANDRIJA - killed in IVICA KRIZMANIĆ's house, Vl. Nazor street
13. FIŠER MARIJA - killed in IVICA KRIZMANIĆ's house, Vl. Nazor street
14. LUKETIĆ PETAR - killed at chapel in Catholic graveyard
15. LUKETIĆ ĐUKA - killed at chapel in Catholic graveyard
16. KRIZMANIĆ ALOJZIJE - killed at chapel in Catholic graveyard
17. DOLAČKI STJEPAN - killed at chapel in Catholic graveyard
18. LUKETIĆ STJEPAN - killed in Brd, on road in village
19. PAVOŠEVIĆ SLAVICA - killed in own basement, Paje Pavošević street, was not in camp
20. PAVOŠEVIĆ JOZEFINA - killed in own basement, Paje Pavošević street, was not in camp
21. PAVOŠEVIĆ MARIJANA - killed in own basement, Paje Pavošević street, was not in camp

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They were all put into black bags and put into the canal. I took all these people to the canal because that is what I was ordered to do. Every morning I had to report for the forced labor, on the same day I had to take those from the basement that were killed (October 18, 1991),as well as those that came back from the minefield. I was driving a tractor and trailer, with a white rag on it, I also had to wear a white armband, those doing the loading were B.F, Đ.R. and some others, they were all Croats who loaded the corpses. They also had to put the corpses into the grave. I would drive the tractor beside the canal, and they would throw the corpses in, when one row was full they would place some dirt over them. On the same day that they buried the dead from the minefield, ĐUMIĆ FRANJO was beaten to death and buried in the same grave but he was placed in a bag.
VIDIĆ BOŽO was killed in his basement on October 23, 1991, he lived on Vladimir Nazor street, and he was put into a black bag. He was buried in his own plot. His sister had asked if he could be buried in his own plot and he was.
MARTINOVIĆ ZVONKO was killed in the yard of MARTINOVIĆ ANDRIJA, Tomislav street, and was put in a coffin made of boards. He was killed near the end of October, 1991, I did nor drive him to the grave, this was done by someone else who was ordered to. During this entire period the JNA was surrounding the village, and in the village they had their headquarters. Immediately after the occupation they stationed a unit from Kragujevac there.
Fifteen days after the start of the occupation, reservists from Bečeja arrived, after them there were reservists from Bačka Topola and then from Subotica. The officers were from the regular JNA. In the first month of 1992, reservists from Pančevo arrived. Amongst the reservists from Subotica, Bačka Topola and Bečeja were Croats and Hungarians, but they were not allowed to talk with Croats from the village.
They began settle Serbs before the new year, but in smaller numbers, so that until New Years 1992 they had settled about 20 Serbian families, but then they began a massive colonization. On December 22, 1991 policemen from Knin, SAO-Krajina came to our village and collected about 20 people (Croatians) and began to beat them with metal rods and wooden boards over their entire body. They beat them in the basement of the offices of the local government. To two of the twenty the drilled holes into the soles of the feet with a power drill, and they drilled a hole below my brothers knee, I think it was his right one. They also removed 11 of my brothers teeth, from the right side, he had white gold fillings on these teeth, two other prisoners also lost one tooth each. They removed the teeth with ordinary workmens pliers, and they would use a spoon to put salt onto the wounds.
They paid particular attention to five of the prisoners : M.M, E.F., V.B., Đ.R., I.J., they would beat them in the head and the entire body, and especially in the genital area.
My brother and M:M were tied to two steel posts with handcuffs for 24 hours. I saw my brother in Lovas again, 90 % of his body was covered by bruises. He and V.B. had to spit into each others faces. They also forced one other to slap and hit. The other 15 were imprisoned until December 25, 1991. They were beaten upon their bodies. B., age 30, was especially beaten in the genaital area.
After being released on December 26, 1991they all had to leave the village and go to Zagreb.
I also wanted to leave then but they did not let me, I could not stand the terror and was afraid that I would end up like them. After two months, 7 armed Chetniks came, they were all unfamiliar to me, and ordered that I get ready to leave the village in 5 minutes. It was around 19:00 on Febuary 21, 1992.
On that day, Febuary 21, 1992, they first told me that I had to leave my house and village in 2 days. The same day I went to the command in the village, to the JNA officer, and asked for an escort out of the crisis area. He said that there would be no moves and that he would talk with "them". The officer had the rank of Captain, middle weight. But he said that the army would inform me within one day as to whether I would be leaving or not. Instead of the army it was the Chetniks who arrived, amongs them was one called "KOSTA". He was short, weak, had black hair, he wore various uniforms from camoflage to JNA , and sometimes civilian clothes. He told me that I had 5 minutes to leave my house, and the village and that he was my escort, not the army, and he asked me why I went to the JNA command. Since that day I am in Zagreb, with my family, as a displaced person.

This statement is given freely and without coercion, and by signing every page of this statement I verify it's autenticity

Zagreb, April 4, 1993

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Testimony MG - 2

D I M H
Division of Information and Research
Ministry of Health of the Republic of Croatia

On October 5, 1991, I was brought by civilians and JNA soldiers to Velepromet. Ljubinko Stojanović and Veljko (I don know his family name) interrogated me. They did not beat me but they tried to break me psychologically. Interrogation lasted for one hour (from 4 to 5 p.m.). After interrogation I was situated in the building of Velepromet. There I found the following persons:

Mato Gombović
Mirko Gombović
Jozo Palahinjak
Zlatko Palahinjak
Ivo Plečković
Marko Radić
Zlatko Martinović
Aleksandar Tomašić - Šajnik

and 10 other persons whose names I did not remember. Luka Mitrović, volunteer from Vukovar, escorted me to the interrogation. At Velepromet I recognized Stevan Gradina, guard, and Željko Vračarić.
Me and other captured civilians, who were already there, were sleeping over the boards and we had some blankets.

The following morning I was interrogated by Željko Vračarić who did not use force but he threatened me with a injection with unknown liquid. He interrogated me about my close friends and he asked me whether I knew where his children were (his first wife was Nelda Milić and they had two children). He told me that Stjepan Milić had been killed because of armed rebellion against Yugoslavia. To October 10, 1991 I was inside Velepromet area and I did all the jobs they demanded. On October 10, 1991 I was removed to the group who was cleansing freezers and burring corpses. Mato Gombović and Josip Palahinjak were also in this group. The group was run by Rade Ivković and driver was Milutin Milić who treated us correctly and sometimes we were allowed to visit our families.
In the meantime they were conquering Vukovar and gathering civilians. They selected them in two groups. In the first group were the persons who were apt and they got weapons and in the second group were slaves. So the following people arrived to prison:

Manda Mišić
Ivka Konjetić
Petar Brozović
Slavko Mandić
Mirko Vencl
Ivica Kruljac
Stjepan Huc
Petar Pop

and other persons whose names I did not remember. During combats, Nenad Žigić arrived and he took care about interrogations of the people and their status. Some of them were prisoners and other were partially free and those were situated in the houses around Velepromet

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Their fighters I recognized:

Mićo Skandić
Jovica Radan
Žarko Leskovac
Cvijeto Cvjetičanin
Marko Crevar
Ranko Vorkapić
Lazo Stanković
Jezdimir Stanković
Dule Ivković
Mišo Roknić
Mišo Martić
Pero called Limun
Siniša Končić
Brane Krstić
Boro Krstić
Boro Alavanja
Saša Maksimović
Željko Mudri (worker of NAP)
Mišo Vilenica

and other persons whose name I did not know or I forgot.

They provocated and humiliated us but I don't want to talk about it. Thanks to our job who was very hard and terrible, I saved my nervs. We got food regularly when there was food. Sometimes, there was not food even for them.
Boro Krstić was guard of prisoners and he was correct. He had to do his job and after all we had to load and unload cartridges which was situated in the basement of Velepromet. In the meantime 8 of us got special accomodation and we were separated from the rest of people but we had to do certain tasks. There were 3 groups of prisoners at Velepromet. One group was situated in the basement, second one was in cabinet-making and third group was situated in a small room near guard-house. Boro Krstić was in charge of us and the people from cabinet-making and Lazo Stanković was in charge of the people from the basement.
After the fall of Vukovar JNA and Colonel Bašić took care about dead people. All corpses were brought to the brickyard "Opeka" where obductions and identifications were performd. While we were doing that, Serbs were exiling the people and plundering all they found (cars, furniture ...). After insisting of Rade Ivković by Ljubinko Stojanović, me and Jozo Palahinjuk were allowed to go home. But we had to report us at Velepromet every morning. Lazo Stanković took care about us and he treated us like his personal slaves. He was very arogant and cruel with me. When we gathered all corpses that were buried superficially, we started to digg up the corpses which were buried on known places. Our working-group did not gather the corpses of their fighters (they did it alone) but we were gathering the corpses of civilians, members of Police forces, CNG and civilians who had been killed in their own houses. I can declare that there were a number of these corpses but I did not see personally any case of murder and I could not identified none murderer. During this mass prosecutions at Velepromet, people were killed but it happend in the night. I saw 15 corpses and I had to bury them. They were on the railway-truck behind Velepromet. Prosecutions and killing of civilians lasted for 5 or 6 days. In the same time they were exiling the civilians from Vukovar.

During combats, food, clothes and building material were coming and we, prisoners, had to unload it. Around this time "Drvopromet" was established again and there fire wood and building material came. In January 31, 1992 I collected corpses at so called "Komunalac"

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On February 2, 1992 I went to work to "Drvopromet". On about January 25, all civilians from Velepromet were sat free and they could choose place to go - to Vukovar or to Serbia. Lazo Stanković told me it ,in the end of the month. You could leave Vukovar only with a special permission to pass, released by Territorial Defense or by Military Police. Many people left Vukovar on this way. They reached Novi Sad and after that they disappeared. The people who had families in Vukovar could leave the town only if somebody from his family remained in Vukovar. They musted have hostages for killing. Another possibility was:: you had to sign that you would leave all that you had to them and when you did it, you could get permission to pass. As my parents were elderly persons and as they did not want to leave their house, I was forced to stay in Vukovar to the day when they exiled me. It happened on April 20, 1992.

I forgot to say that Mirko Gombović and Zlatko Palatinjak were taken away in the end of October and they did not come back. We don't know nothing about them. Blaženka Gavranović also was taken away. And some other persons whose names I do not know. Željko Vračarić and his two friends took my new car.

Upom my arrival to Velepromet I spoke with Milovan Ćejić, director, and Branko Momčilović, new boss. I had to tell them where I had been during the war.
In the beginning I cleaned and reparied machines. After they got permission to take over "Unija" Zagreb and "Obnova" Osijek and as they did not have enough workers, I was transferred to the location of "Obnova" Osijek - working unit "Sekunda II". They were buying oft ols iron, brass, bronze, aluminium, plastic and various ampties. Serbian "fighters" did not were interested for these jobs so, there were not enough workers. At "Drvopromet" worked: Boro Panić, Mile Glamoćak, Branko Šekuljića, Marinko Berić, Veljko Lukić, Đorđe Vidović, Ostoja Božić, Vlado Živić, Krsto Pavlović, Goran Isajlović, Goran Stević and others whose names I did not remember.
This is only one part of the names I can remember for a moment. I am completely responsable for all that I declared.

In Zagreb, May 3, 1992

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D. I. M. H.
Division of Information and Research
Ministry of Health of the Republic of Croatia

TESTIMONY VOJ - 656

There were many problems that forced me to leave Zemun. It started much earlier but the strongest pressure was in the last month when me and my family were scared for our lives, in the place we lived.
They were provoking and threatening to us. They were telling us that a Serbian family (refugees) would move into our flat. They told us that it was already decided and that a camp was prepared for us and that it was only a question of days or maybe hours until it would happen. I was a secretary at "JAT" company but they told me that I was surplus. At my workplace they would provoke me in various ways. The main reason was the fact that I was Croatian and I was told that there was no place for me there. They stated that there were many Serbs who were without jobs and that I belonged in Croatian.
Presently I am here alone (at my friends). My parents can not come here because lack the permission to pass the border. The main problem for them is their flat. They have not place to live here and it is hard to exchange their flat there for some adequate here.

I gave the statement of my own free will and without coercion.

In Zagreb, April 28, 1992

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D. I. M. H.
Department of Information and Research
Ministry of Health of the Republic of Croatia

TESTIMONY VOJ - 642

I lived in Golubinci. My problems started when Slobodan Milošević arrived on the scene. I worked at the "Centrosrem" shop and there they provoked me for being a member of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) and in the end they were saying that I was an Ustasha. According to their stories, I was a member of the Croatian National Guard but allegedly "Tudman chased me out". Then the mobilisation followed and I was the one who was telling the people not to respond to mobilisation. All the time they were threatening us over the phone. A policeman entered the shop and told me that their Serbia needed fighters and that I had two sons (they knew everything) and that they needed people like my sons were. Once the phone rang and my son picked up the earpiece and they said: "Why don't you move out, f... your Ustasha mother, are you waiting for us to come and slaughter you?" They sent me on holidays and they told me that I would not work there any more. I gave notice because I knew that I would not work there any more. After that I heard from my brothers that I could exchange my house. So, I arrived in Zagreb and exchanged the house.

I gave this statement of my own free will and without coercion.

D.I.M.H.
Division of Information and Research
Ministry of Health of the Republic of Croatia

TESTIMONY VOJ - 624

My problems started when I was fired by my firm "Ukua" Indija, on August 1, 1991. They began telling me that I had no right to live in Slankamen anymore, that I should be in Croatia. People recived summons for the reserve forces of the JNA and all those who went had bad experiences because they were Croats. They were humiliated and psycologicaly maltreated. I then decided to leave for Croatia and avoid the destiny of those who were mobilised. On November 10, 1991 I arrived to Croatia. My wife, child, father and mother remained in Slankamen. They started to threanten them so my wife left and arrived in Croatia on January 6, 1992. As my two brothers were already in Croatia, there was no place, in Slankamen, for my parents. They entered their house and told them that they would slaughter them if they did not move out. Some Serbs offered to exchange houses. My parents were forced to accept this and, of course, they were cheated. I heard about this and I went to Slankamen to take them out and to retrieve some documents that I had left in the house. I arrived to Slankamen, and saw what was happening but I could not do anything. Then I was arrested because I had been in Croatia. They brought me to the Police station in Indija where they beat and maltreated me. They called me names, forced me to admit that I was Ustasha and that I had slaughtered Serbs. They forced me to say the same thing for all the others who were not in Slankamen. I was searched completely, they even looked in the heels of my shoes. When they did not find anything, they stopped beating me. I did not think that they would maltreat me because of my lost drivers licence (I lost it two years ago), so when I found it and I reported it. However, they could hardly wait for something like this and they imprisoned me. They wanted to try me for allegedy misusing documents. They took both my drivers licences. Fortunately, the prosecutor was not there and I asked them to allow me to talk to my parents. They let me go in the evening and told me to come back the following morning. I escaped to Croatia during the same night and I am still here. I gave this statement of my own free will and without coercion.

In Zagreb, March 24, 1992

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D.I.M.H.
Department of Information and Research
Ministry of Health of the Republic of Croatia

TESTIMONY VOJ - 517

My problems started at the end of the summer of 1989, when some Serbian extremists from the community of Bač (Stojan Zeleh, Aleksandar Andrić, Dragan Subotić, Ljubiša Velimirović) started to threaten me, with weapons even, in public places. They were telling me that they would kill me and my family. I did not answer these provocations and reported these cases to the police station in Bač, i.e. to the head - Slavoljub Balović and to the police station commander - Branko Malbaša. They did not protect me, instead they started (with help of the county prosecutor of the municipality of Bač, Mira Konjikušić) legal proceedings against me. In the month of September 1989, I was sentenced to one month in prison for verbal offence. Serbian extremists kept pressuring us. My daughter Marina was beaten at the school in Odžaci in the middle of the day. My other daughter who was studying in Belgrade, was attacked and maltreated on the street, in front of many passer-bys. In the private cafe of my wife, Serbs from the municipality of Bač (Vlajin Vojić, Gojko Grbić, Duško Dević, Ratko Novaković, Žarko Nedomović, Vladimir Karan, Stevan Čepo) began many incidents. They sang Chetnik songs and maltreated my wife and guests. My wife was seriously injured when Zoran Ostojić from Plavna, hit her on the head with a chair at the cafe. The cafe was demolished twice and everything was destroyed. At my workplace, I was continuously maltreated and physically attacked. They threatened that they would blow up my house and slaughter my wife and children. This happened often when Chetniks arrived in the municipality of Bač. From April 1990 onwards, they would pass through Bač when going to Borovo Selo. The managers of my firm then transferred me to a worse job. I had to work, as a conductor, on the line Bač - Borovo Selo, but I could not accept it because of the Chetniks who were travelling with these buses. As I was operated on twice and in the meantime my health had worsened, in August 1993 I went to the hospital for medical examinations. While I was on sick-leave I received a summons from the JNA - reserve forces and they sent me to combat in Croatia - Mirkovci. In October 1991 I escaped through Hungary to Germany, leaving my wife, house and family.

In Zagreb, July 16, 1992

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D. I. M. H.
Divison of Information and Research
Ministry of Health of the Republic of Croatia

TESTOMONY VOJ - 515

The greatest problems I had in the place that I lived, in Vojvodina, were with the mobilizations for the reserves of the "JNA". Like most Croatians my age, I received the order for mobilization, the first at the beginning of March, 1992. On the order was written that I was being called for 15 days of war training, but I knew that these were orders for being sent to the war in Croatia, because similar orders were sent out beginning in August, 1991 to many Croats and Hungarians from the village and these men went immediately to the front lines in Slavonia and Baranja. A large number of youths from the village got these orders, and the Secretariat for National Defence of the municipality of Bač told us that we were being sent to remove arms from the front lines in Slavonia (at Bobota), and after that we were to be allowed to return and our duty would be to keep watch at the bridge over the Danube river at Bogojeva, in Vojvodina. The people who received the orders were afraid that if they did not answer the call they would receive 30 years imprisonment, that was the threat of the military people and officials from the Secretariat for National Defence. Earlier, a group of youths had escaped to Croatia, and other countries, to escape the mobilization, there were about 20 of them, and some went to Hungary ór other countries with their families. I did not want to answer the call because, as a Croatian, I could not shoot on fellow Croatians, and since I was required to report in Sombor the next day, where the collection centre for reservists from our area was, I decided to leave my home and parents. I escaped across the Hungarian border for the first time on 1.09.1991, again out of fear of mobilization. After that I returned to Plavna. When I received the orders (March, 1992), I again had to escape, this time through Bosnia. After a short stay in Croatia, I then went to Germany, where I got a job through a friend. I occasionally talked with my parents on the telephone. Every day they would be in a more difficult situation, because the authorities would maltreat the parents of people who escaped from being mobilized. My uncle was mobilized and was sent to the front lines in Slavonia. The Chetniks in the village beat up his sons, and he had to spend some time in another country (Hungary) because he could not return home. Many other people, especially Croats and Hungarians, were maltreated and beaten, among them were the people that did not answer the mobilization, as well as those that went into the reserves. Now I am living apart from my parents, I work occasionally in Germany and I live a rough life. I can not see my parents and can only hear from them periodically on the telephone. Even on the telephone they will not or can not talk openly, because the telephones in the village are listened to. I do not know how it will all end and if I will ever be able to return home.

Zagreb, January 7, 1993

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D. I. M. H.
Division of Information and Research
Ministry of Health of the Republic of Croatia

TESTIMONY VOJ - 512

I was married to a Serbian. We were married for 15 years. I was considered an Ustasha by him and his whole family. My troubles started with beginning of the war in Croatia. When the people in my house found out that my brother was in Croatia they began to maltreat me everyday. They chased me and my daughter out of the house and they did not let me take my 8 year old son with me. They told me " Get lost, go to Zagreb you Ustasha !". I escaped ,with my children, to Croatia before 8 1/2 months. While we were there, my daughter was maltreated in school, especially by the Serbian language teacher who was called Siniša from Ruma. He did not want to receive her written work because it was written in the Latin characters, even though until the time of the war in Croatia latin characters were accepted in the school. She had to rewrite her work in the Cyrillic characters. I worked in the clothing factory "Fruška gora" - Ruma whose plant was in Irig. Almost all the worker were Serbian. For the entire eight hour shift we had to listen to Chetnik songs because the factory had speakers set up. During the breaks they (the workers) would say how we Ustasha had to be killed, wiped from the face of the earth. In the company there was one exceptional follower of Vuk Drafković, who was called "Jaza". During working hours he would come to me and tell me how the Chetniks would put us in our place. I must admit that I was very afraid of him. When the men from the company returned from the front they would talk on how they drank day and night. Men in Irig to 35 years of age, would receive nightly orders for military practices, some had to report in Novi Sad and some in Vrdnik. Those from 35-60 years of age had to go to Vrdnik to load munitions, twice weekly. They were divided into groups of 9 individuals each. In one of these groups was my previous husband. They all went because they were threatened with 10 to 15 years imprisonment and a loss of their jobs. The warehouses with munitions were found in the woods above Vrdnik, on the slopes of Fruška gora, buried in the ground. A military airport was located there as well. The majority of volunteers were from Indija. There were volunteers from Irig as well, I remember two brothers Kukuruzović Dragan and Nikola, and Branko who surname I can not remember. Volunteers would get monetary rewards. When they would return from the front they would receive 3-4 average monthly pays. Their families received special rights, the did not have pay for electricity or other bills. One reservists by the name of "Bata" from Irig talked of how their commander would give them orders from his location 5 km. from the front lines. One day he ordered them to take a truck and go to a houses belonging to displaced Croatians and take everything of worth, from furniture to refrigerators, washing machines and televisions. These stolen goods, under the orders of reservists, were taken to certain locations where their trucks were waiting. We would transfer the goods and receive foreign currency in exchange, which we would have to take to our commander. I was told about these thefts by Pera Puzić as well, who was also a reservist. They stole everything that could be carried. One reservists removed an electricity meter and all the faucets from one house. In my company there was a woman named Mira Ćosić. Her husband Slavko Todorović (25) received orders to go to war in September 1991. He went because, at the time, it was shameful for people not to go. Because he was a reserve lieutenant he was given command over 15 people. They sent them for 10 days of military training to Odžak (Bač) and afterwards to Vukovar. In October 1991 at Lužac near Vukovar Slavko Todorović was killed. His wife, for 3 days, could not find out where her husbands body was. On the fourth day, his brother Bora Todorović, discovered that his body was in hospital in Novi Sad. Mira then received a then 130 billion for the death of her husband, which was about 3 monthly pays, and her son (5 years old) received a pension of 2.5 million which was not sufficient for one loaf of bread. A few days after Slavko's death, I was at Mira's and was surprised by three reservists whose names I can not remember, but all three were from Irig. One of them had blonde hair and lived in the section of Irig called "Grčka mala" (Little Greece), he would transfer munitions by truck to the front. Not knowing that I was Croatian, he spoke of when they arrived in Vrdnik for ammunition and an officer then called all reservists, who had to go to combat the next day, to a room where he showed them a video of a man being slaughtered. The victim was clearly seen while the attacker was not. The people were shocked by what they had seen, the officer then told us that it was an Ustasha killing a Serbian prisoner. They asked why it had not been shown on

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Belgrade TV, and he replied that they did not want to alarm the people. Another Croatian woman, ... from Hrtkovci, worked with me. She told me how, in Hrtkovci, Serbian refugees from Croatia would invade houses belonging to Croatians and force the residents out, so that they could move in. After that many Croatians escaped to Croatia.

Nalice, January 5, 1993